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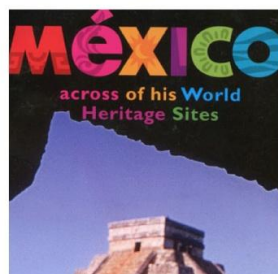
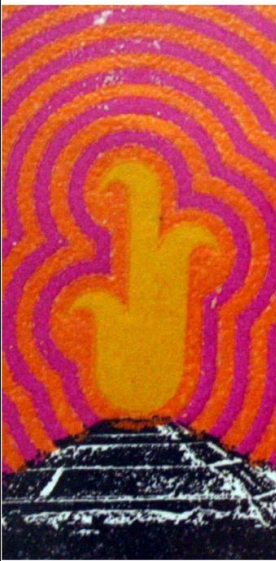
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Archaeology in circulation

Nationalism and Tourism in Post-Revolutionary
Mexican Coins, Notes, Stamps and Guidebooks

César Villalobos Acosta

Department of Archaeology
PhD Thesis • Volume I of II • 2011



Archaeology in Circulation

Nationalism and Tourism in Post-
Revolutionary Mexican Coins, Notes,
Stamps and Guidebooks

César Villalobos Acosta
Thesis submitted for the degree of PhD
Department of Archaeology
Durham University
Volume I of II

2011

César Villalobos
PhD Thesis Abstract

**Archaeology in Circulation: Nationalism and Tourism in Post-Revolutionary
Mexican Coins, Notes, Stamps and Guidebooks**

It is common to see an image of the prehistoric past at least once in a normal day. Images of the best-known archaeological sites may appear at any moment, and they are used in a wide variety of contexts. Consider for a moment how references to the prehistoric past are used. They appear on TV, in museum brochures, in national symbols, logos of state and private companies, names of streets, tourist flyers, underground station imagery, theatrical plays, literature, films, and guidebooks. This ubiquitous presence of archaeology is possible precisely because *the past* has been transformed into a persuasive ideological and economic tool. Almost every modern nation-state has claimed its ancient heritage as a form of authenticity in which the past, particularly archaeological sites, represent lost glory but also the past as a subject of worship, devotion, polemic, and tourism. This thesis is centred on the analysis of the relationship that has emerged from the changing uses of archaeology, either for nationalist purposes or tourism, using post-revolutionary Mexico as case study (1920 onwards). In this country archaeological heritage has been widely used for both political and commercial ends. The presentation and commoditization of archaeology is particularly linked to both nation-building and the development of archaeological sites as powerful tourist attractions. In order to understand the development of this relationship, specific products with a massive national circulation: coins, banknotes, postage stamps and guidebooks are examined in depth. Reciprocal influence between the needs of the present and the ideological potential of the past has naturally driven archaeological heritage to be the subject of politicisation and commoditization.

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Declaration

The thesis conforms to the prescribed word length for doctoral degrees. This thesis is the result of my own work. None of the material presented here has previously been submitted by the author for the degree at Durham University or at any other university. Material from the work of others has been acknowledged and quotations and paraphrases have been indicated.

Statement of Copyright

The copyright of this thesis rests with the author. No quotation from it should be published without the prior written consent and information derived from it should be acknowledged.

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Acronyms

	Institution	English Translation
ABNC	Compañía Americana de Billetes	American Banknote Company
B	Bruce y Shafer (prefijo para la clasificación de billetes)	Bruce and Shafer (prefix for banknote classification)
BM	Banco de México	Bank of Mexico
CEDOC	Centro de Documentación de la Secretaria de Turismo	Documentation Centre of the Ministry of Tourism
CIP	Centro Integralmente Planeado	Integrally Planned Centre
CPTM	Consejo de Promoción Turística de México S.A. de C.V.	Mexico Tourism Board
CM	Casa de Moneda de México	Mexican Mint
COJO	Comité de los Juegos Olímpicos	Committee for the Olympic Games
CULTUR	Patronato de las Unidades de Servicios Culturales y Turísticos del Estado de Yucatán	Board of Trustees of the Units of Cultural Services and Tourism of the State of Yucatán
DAAI	Departamento de Asuntos Indígenas	Department of Indigenous Affairs
DAPP	Departamento Autónomo de Prensa y Publicidad	Autonomous Department of Press and Marketing
DD	Duane Douglas (prefijo para la clasificación de billetes)	Duane Douglas (prefix for banknote classification)
EN	Escalera Náutica	Nautical Route
FBBM	Fábrica de Billetes del Banco de México	National Banknote Factory of Bank of Mexico
FOGATUR	Fondo de Garantía y Fomento al Turismo	Trust for the Guarantee and Promotion of Tourism
FONATUR	Fondo Nacional de Turismo	National Trust for the Promotion of Tourism
GBP	Libras Esterlinas	Great Britain Pound
III	Instituto Indigenista Interamericano	Inter-American Institute for Indigenous People
INEGI	Instituto Nacional de Estadística y	National Institute of Statistics and

	Geografía	Geography
INI	Instituto Nacional Indigenista	National Institute for Indigenous People
INAH	Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia	National Institute of Anthropology and History
INFRATUR	Infraestructura Turística	Tourist Infrastructure
KM	Krause y Mishler (prefijo para clasificación de monedas)	Krause and Mishler (prefix for Coin classification)
MNA	Museo Nacional de Antropología	National Museum of Anthropology
MXN	Pesos Mexicanos	Mexican Pesos
OAS	Organización de Estados Americanos	Organization of American States
PAN	Partido Acción Nacional	National Action Party
PRI	Partido Revolucionario Institucional	Institutional Revolutionary Party
RLFT	Reglamento de la Ley Federal de Turismo	Federal Act of Tourism Law Regulations
SC	Catálogo SCOTT (prefijo para la catalogación de timbres postales)	SCOTT Catalogue (prefix for stamp classification)
SEPOMEX	Servicio Postal Mexicano	Mexican Post Office
SECTUR	Secretaría de Turismo	Ministry of Tourism
UN	Organización de las Naciones Unidas	United Nations
UNAM	Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México	National Autonomous University of Mexico
UNESCO	Organización de las Naciones Unidas para la Educación, la Ciencia y la Cultura	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNWTO	Organización de las Naciones Unidas para la Organización Mundial del Turismo	United Nations World Tourism Organisation
WHS	Sitio Patrimonio de la Humanidad por la UNESCO	UNESCO's World Heritage Site

Abbreviations of Mexican institutions will be spelled out in Spanish, for example National Museum of Anthropology (MNA). In the case of international organizations, the spelled out will be in English: United Nations (UN). Both for acronyms and in-text quotations, all translations are mine, unless otherwise indicated.

Introduction

Archaeology is not only the science of knowing about the past and its material remains. It is also a political tool that, in some countries such as Mexico, remains an important one. During its emergence as a professional discipline, archaeology was linked to the creation and sustainment of the nation-state. In different parts of the world archaeology has contributed in varying degrees to the permanence of nationalism and the creation of identities. During the nineteenth century and the early decades of the twentieth century, archaeology was primarily used, maintained, and devoted to the needs of the nation-state. Conversely, the new world order created after the Second World War prompted a greater mobility and cultural exchange, partly based on mass tourism. Given the importance of heritage as part of much of the tourist experience, tourism has had an increasing influence on the use and presentation of the past. In most countries, archaeology is still strongly associated with the permanence of nationalism and strengthening a national identity. However, the pace of commoditization of ancient heritage has accelerated, and now, it is common to observe the past being used for commercial purposes and to attract increasing number of tourists. Currently, in the majority of countries with internationally recognized cultural heritage, the management and administration of archaeology attempts to meet the needs of both nationalism and tourism. However, the influence and reciprocity in this relationship has been poorly studied. The objective of the current research is to analyse this important connection between archaeology, nationalism, and tourism. I will be doing this through the assessment of material not often paid attention by heritage scholars: coins, banknotes, postage stamps and guidebooks. My study will focus on Mexico and material included date from the Mexican Revolution (1910). Mexico has been selected as a case study because the past has been the most pervasive ideological and economic resource used in the making of modernity in this country.

Archaeological Imagery Everywhere

It is common to see an image of the prehistoric past at least once in a normal day, and most likely more often if you live in Mexico. Images of the best-known archaeological sites may appear at any moment, and they are used in a wide variety of contexts. Consider for a moment how references to the prehistoric past are used. They appear on TV, in museum brochures, in national symbols, logos of state and private companies, names of streets, tourist flyers, underground station imagery, theatrical plays, literature, films, and guidebooks. It is easy to handle images of the past: Stonehenge on a postage stamp, Abu Simbel on a banknote, or Teotihuacan on a coin. This ubiquitous presence of archaeology is possible precisely because *the past* has been transformed into a persuasive ideological and economic tool. Almost every modern nation-state has claimed its ancient heritage as a form of authenticity in which the past, particularly archaeological sites, represent lost glory (Smith 2001:443); and the past is a subject of worship, devotion, polemic, and tourism.

At first sight, these representations of the past seem to be innocent, beautiful, interesting, and even folkloric. Indeed, it might seem to be normal to use them to enhance the nation's image for countries with a widely recognized archaeological heritage, such as Egypt, Greece, Peru, or Mexico. The use of archaeological heritage in these circumstances could be considered to be normal, or even irrelevant and naive. However, the widespread use of certain images reflects underlying narratives related to identity and national ideology. Objects such as money and stamps which are produced by governments represent one of the most incisive and systematic means to convey particular narratives of the nation-state to the citizens (Gounaris 2003; Schwarzenbach 1999). Indeed, it has been rightly pointed out that national currencies are a clear indicator of a nation-state's sovereignty (Gilbert and Helleiner 1999a:1). As an official product, currency and stamps are potent vehicles of communication because of their inherent capacity as bearers of symbols (Galloy 2000:15). Every day millions of people use, see, and touch currency and stamps; consciously or unconsciously, they are the recipients of an intrinsic message, consisting of either ideas or aspirations (Meyer 1954:100). Modern nation-states have used currency as a tool in the creation or strengthening of national identities and in the making of the nations (Gilbert 1999:23). Currency and stamps are potent means to spread ideologies, and as instruments of the government, are persuasive and virtually ubiquitous.

Currency as the Preferred Ideological Tool of the Nation

Circulating currency is essentially a nationalist product. Nation-states control the production of currency, which fulfils its primary role at a domestic level. In modern times, when an unprecedented mobility of human beings is observed, currency frequently crosses national borders. When returning from a trip some banknotes hidden in the wallet are often found; for example, Argentinean pesos on the way back to England, Euros in Mexico, or American dollars in South Africa. What to do with them? It is an uncomfortable question when travel back to the country from which the coin returns is unlikely to happen.

The surprise of having foreign money is experienced when one realizes that some coins from another country have been given to you as change while shopping (usually lower denomination coins which are similar in appearance). Coins are sometimes deliberately introduced in a different country as a deception. Think, for example, of the similar attributes of some coins: one Australian dollar could pass as one British pound, and one Chilean ten peso coin could easily be mistaken for a Euro ten cent coin. Whatever the means, deception or chance, when the Australian dollar or the Chilean peso crosses national borders, they lose their primary function as a means of payment. However, there is also a more profound loss.

The currency loses a vital part of its cultural meaning when it goes out of the country of origin. The bust of liberator Bernardo O'Higgins (1778-1842) found on the reverse of the Chilean coin, or the Australian Kangaroo depicted on the dollar coin largely lose their function as carriers of identity out of their respective countries. For a Chilean the image of a kangaroo could seem naive, and for an Australian, surely O'Higgins will pass unnoticed. The same would happen with images on banknotes. For example, a Honduran Lempira would be meaningless in Germany, and a Thai Bath must be useless for an Ecuadorian accustomed to using US dollars. Generally, coins and notes have a fundamental function which is restricted to the country where they are produced. The national context provides the currency with its reason for existence, and becomes an auxiliary bearer of cultural symbols¹.

Images printed on currency condense national history. By analysing the banknotes in the wallet and the coins in the pocket of a common citizen, the foundations of national history and

¹ Coin and note collecting must be ignored in this discussion, because in these cases currency is introduced deliberately as a hobby, giving it another function beyond economy and nationalism.

present and past glories can usually be observed. Currency reproduces the historical memory that exalts and distinguishes *the nation* from other countries. Currency is a mirror for the nation; it reflects the past and the image that the nation wants to be projected for posterity. A currency catalogue represents a summarized version of the facts and relevant personages of a national history. Currency is an effective means of transmitting these concepts. The essentials of the nation become portable history, reproduced on millions of examples, circulating in every transaction. Even in the most unimaginable corners of the country, passages of national history are seen, touched, and felt. Currency represents the most refined and solemn version of this history. For this reason, it is an instrument of power, and as such, subject to the randomness and contingencies of power. In the context of nation-states, currency has an important political function. Therefore, nationalist governments are jealous of the messages that are carried on the currency as a whole which, in addition to providing security in the forms of payment, promote local history, reflecting the fundamentals on which the nation stands.

Stamps: Ambassadors Everywhere

In contrast to currency, one of the functions of postage stamps is to allow communication with someone who is not close to you. Stamps are mostly devoted to the depiction of national interests, but they also include attention to international affairs, whether controversial or celebratory. Representing disputed international borders has been one of the most controversial aspects, for example, between the Dominican Republic and Haiti, or Belize and Guatemala, or still Peru and Ecuador. Consider for a moment Easter Island. Both Chile and France have issued different stamps, which have led to diplomatic discussions. The Chilean government has protested the use of Maohi images on some French Polynesia stamps, and has asked for the withdrawal of a series of stamps portraying its cultural heritage. For Chilean diplomats, the use of Chilean culture heritage can be considered as an attempt at invasion (Child 2005:134). Stamps, which additionally can be a form of payment, contain a strong political content. They bear the role of messenger domestically and abroad.

Stamps, in contrast to notes and coins, are more flexible. Stamps are continually updated, and are easily adapted to changes due to their annual production. As a consequence they usually depict a wide range of events and personages. They commemorate bank holidays, births or

deaths, poets, scientists, politicians, royal weddings, and indeed almost any concept, regardless of how fanciful it might be or look like in retrospect. Stamps can also be analyzed from the additional perspective of their role as a natural means of worldwide communication. Unlike coins and notes, stamps are a manifestation of the nation-state which is intended to be disseminated not just within the country but also abroad. This inherent capacity of crossing international borders makes them potential omnipresent ambassadors elsewhere.

Guidebooks to Ancient Sites

Guidebooks to ancient sites are essential for a precise understanding of the use of archaeology as a commodity. Tourist guidebooks have been widely criticized for being simple and facile. It is true that they have many blind spots. Guidebooks tend to maintain a personal tone and avoid mentioning debatable issues in favour of the picturesque. This results in a volume which is an easily transported size, with basically straightforward, transparent, and simple content (Koshar 1998:326). However, a guidebook is not a product in isolation, but is the result of a wider context that reflects a system of thought and action. The essential idea of a guide is to provide immediate pragmatic knowledge, free of politics, which avoids diverting tourists from the essentials of leisure and travelling. In the haste of the journey, a tourist wants direct, unambiguous information. In the logic of modern consumerism, tourists need to save time and money. A guidebook meets a critical demand for modern generations: they need to respond appropriately to the constraints imposed by economic resources in a limited period of time and the maximization of physical and symbolic benefits. An essential aspect of a guidebook is mapping. In essence, it has to indicate what "must be seen" and what in turn should be ignored.

A guidebook is the result of complex interactions that range from local to global. What appears to be an "outstanding" attraction has this status because it is created as such by the country of destination – even if sometimes inspired by foreign visitors who have published and popularised travel to that place. Tourism as represented in guidebooks is a dynamic adventure built from multiple gazes connecting a discursive target with an actual destination. Guidebooks therefore represent a tacit game that shifts from local to global, from I-narrator to You-tourist. It is a specific narrative of creation, recreation, and reinvention of contemporary life and history. It is significant to mention that throughout the information provided in guidebooks there are

implicit values, prejudices, omissions, and particular narratives. Guidebooks have the potential to shape the whole perception of a place or a country influencing what tourists must go or see (Brown 2006:369) and how the host places must be commoditized. A guidebook maps the knowledge of both the visitor and guest, and it reflects social contexts where they are produced.

Archaeology, Nationalism and Tourism

Archaeologists have predominantly analysed the history of the discipline from an internal perspective. This approach was centred on the methodological development and transformation of theory and techniques (Bernal 1980; Willey and Sabloff 1993). Issues of culture history and methodological and theoretical contributions have been dominant in this approach. These proposals begin by naming the long list of proto-archaeologists, archaeologists, excavations, sites, and/or typologies. The story generally begins with the findings of antiquarianism and continues to the many discoveries made and new proposals put forward throughout the two and a half centuries. An important aspect in these studies is the analysis of excavation reports, recording methods, findings, and artefact typologies. Such studies have undoubtedly been a major contributor to archaeological thought.

However, since the 1990s major attention has been paid to the analysis of archaeology from an external perspective (Díaz-Andreu 2007:4). This approach focuses on the influence of external inputs that have greatly impacted the development of the discipline. It seeks to assess the political and cultural context in which archaeology is used and reproduced. Nationalism in particular has been the most frequently studied subject of this research. More recently scholars have looked into the influence on “invisible colleges” and “network theory” in which personal histories, interaction, and mobility between archaeologists and their students have resulted in specific schools of thought (Díaz-Andreu 2007; Díaz-Andreu, et al. 2009). The external approach follows the changes that archaeology has experienced because of its usefulness as political tool in particular historical moments. The role of archaeology and archaeologists, directly or indirectly, intentionally or unintentionally, has been much more complex than the simple development of techniques for excavation.

Tourism is another area that has recently been the subject of study, also from an external perspective (Duke 2007; Rowan and Baram 2004). In the first decade of the twenty-first century the analysis of tourism as a cultural process has attracted scholarly debate. Among academic circles, tourism has traditionally been seen as an industry, and this has led to a lack of interest in converting it into the target of academic enquiry. However, in the light of recent discussions, it has become clear that tourism is a powerful means of cultural exchange that has impacted greatly the management and presentation of the past. Tourism, generally associated with large transnational capital, has been properly criticized for its voracious capitalism. However, beyond its neo-colonial and negative connotations, tourism has created profound transformations in the modern era. It is worth mentioning that tourism will continue to increase its networks to any corner of the globe, unless hindered by natural or economic catastrophes.

The relationship between archaeology and tourism has intensified since the second half of the twentieth century, when a profound transformation in this relationship occurred. Although archaeological sites have been a component of global tourism, surprisingly, archaeological tourism has not been a subject of research until the last decade. Millions of tourists visit archaeological sites all around the world, and archaeological tourism has been rapidly integrated into global tourism. One of the strongest factors driving the commoditization of archaeological sites is the growing role of tourism in world economies (Ardren 2004:103). Yet the impact of tourism seems to be rather more profound than its economic dimension. Through archaeological tourism, countries create a world in which history is an instrument for self-expression as well as for mobilising resources (Silverman 2002:883). Archaeological sites have been extensively used by both national institutions and private enterprises for the purposes of marketing, identity-making, and promoting tourism.

Interestingly, the sites and imagery widely used for nationalist purposes have seemingly become automatic candidates for tourism promotion. This is because the agendas of nationalism and tourism complement each other (Kohl 2004:298). Tourism has an inherent ability to promote national identity (Koshar 1998:325). At the same time, imagery depicting archaeological heritage, once used exclusively to strength identity and national pride, has fully entered into the realm of the consumption the past (Rowan and Baram 2004). This became even more visible after the Second World War, when the popularization of mass tourism, along with other

innovations, triggered a new set of relationships of consumption. Tourism employs a wider range of means of advertising than nationalism. Nevertheless, postage stamps, and to a lesser degree currency, which were among the traditional means of nationalist advertisement, have not escaped a role in the promotion of tourism. Indeed, in some cases, the same archaeological sites or objects have been printed on both stamps and currency in order to strengthen identity as well as to promote consumption of the past as a commodity.

Studies of the relationship either between archaeology and nationalism, or between archaeology and tourism from an external approach do not follow an established pattern. In a large number of studies on nationalism, for example, seminal approaches have focused on the use of the past to strengthen identity through museums and textbooks. Subsequently, more specific analyses of nationalism have concentrated on architecture, journalism, literature, cinema, and to a lesser extent the analysis of postage stamps, coins, and banknotes. Although it is related, the analysis of tourism and its implications for archaeology is actually a new subject of research. Interesting analyses of guidebooks and magazines have only recently been published. These studies have opened a novel field of research for understanding the commoditization of cultural heritage and archaeology in the new millennium. The present research extends this new field of study by focusing on the depiction of archaeological iconography on coins, banknotes, stamps, and guidebooks. It also goes a step further from what has been published so far, for this work is the first to link archaeology and both nationalism and tourism, claiming that both use the past in an interconnected way.

Mexican Archaeology as a Case Study

Mexico is a country in which archaeology and the nation are a mirror reflection of each other; they cannot exist without each other. Reciprocal influence between the needs of the present and the ideological potential of the past has naturally driven archaeological heritage to be the subject of politicisation and commoditization. Archaeological heritage in Mexico is visible everywhere. It is metaphorically omnipresent. It has been a way to showcase Mexico in the modern world, and the leitmotif of the struggle against colonialism and imperialism. Archaeology embodies a tacit presence of the past that has been used to strengthen and attest that contemporary Mexico is unique in the globalized world. Pre-Hispanic heritage not only symbolizes the actual trace of a

past now extinct, but is also something tangible on the streets, emerging from them permanently. The pre-Hispanic cultures have been the inspiration for art and music, woven into ponchos, incorporated in pottery decorations. Folk art is also full of images of the past.

Archaeology in Mexico has been closely linked to both nationalism and tourism. In Mexico, these relationships between nationalism, tourism, and archaeology are intermingled. Nationalism has fostered a particular idea of Mexican culture, which has gradually been adopted by tourism as a form of marketing. Archaeological heritage, which had once been used exclusively for the promotion of nationalism, became also the preferred product of the market for tourism. As a result, folk culture, archaeology, and modern culture have become essentially blended. The post- revolutionary period (1920 onwards) has been selected as the focus of research because of the political and cultural transformation which occurred during this time and created modern Mexico (Joseph, et al. 2001). It is during this period that archaeology became popular and the forms of representation and uses of archaeological heritage became standardized (Saragoza 2001:96). Mexican nationalism began to use the past as a leitmotiv in nation-making; the past was pervasive in almost any cultural, artistic, or political representation. Nationalist ideology until this time fomented the image of a homogeneous country through the ideologies of *Indigenismo* and *Mestizaje*, and the image of a happy and intense relationship between archaeological heritage, identity, and nationalism was created, becoming the image of Mexico both domestically and abroad.

Archaeological tourism has existed since the early twentieth century, somewhat accelerated by the appeal of Teotihuacan to visitors in the 1920s. Low-intensity tourism was proof of Mexico's entry into a new world order in which people travelled as a reward. In modern society, the joy of leisure was established as a legitimate right and Mexico as part of that modernity was keen to create spaces for enjoyment and entertainment. Profound changes in cultural resource management since the 1960s began to have a progressively visible presence. Undoubtedly the Olympic Games organized in 1968 in Mexico were the main catalyst in this relationship, prompting a deep transformation in the management of heritage.

However, the lack of social integration within Mexico and a more inclusive national project resulted in a political crisis in the 1960s. Particularly the year of 1968 has had profound implications for Mexican culture, marked by two important events which caused fundamental

changes. On the one hand, the killing of unarmed student protestors in Tlatelolco denied the country entry into a more participatory democratic era. As a result, the authoritarian and repressive cabinet maintained power. On the other hand, the organization of the Olympic Games contributed to boosting the country into a new international order in which the economy and mass tourism were especially relevant. More importantly for the present research, 1968 marks an intersection, junction, and transformation of the relationships between nationalism and archaeology, and archaeology and tourism. Since that time tourism has shared the significant role that nationalism had played in archaeology during the first part of the twentieth century. Tourism has played a predominant role in increasing the speed of change in the country and its suitability for global trade since 1968. National policies later prompted a substantial shift in the country, and the subsequent paths of development have been dictated by the ability to provide commoditized cultural resources for consumption in the world of tourism.

In the early 1970s this path, guided by the development of national policies, has rapidly changed. Despite the core of nationalistic feeling which was still present in the practice and conception of archaeology, the neoliberal government has been keen to create new conditions for the commercial management of archaeological remains, regardless of the fact that commercialization of archaeological remains is forbidden in the archaeological legislation. Current policies are conducive to the conversion of archaeological administration into cultural industries. This has resulted in an overlapping of the old patriotic and nationalistic feelings with the mainstream intent to commercialize archaeology within a neoliberal orientation.

The 1980s brought significant changes and challenges to the tourism industry in Mexico. With the economic crisis of 1982 the government had to withdraw its capital investments from tourism. Since then, financing the tourism industry in Mexico has relied on large private investors, both foreign and domestic. In turn, this has polarized access to the benefits of tourism to small entrepreneurs or local communities. In addition, the high natural and social costs of the so-called “industry without chimneys” have been criticized. For example, in Acapulco, and elsewhere, regulations on environmental impact were not followed, and beaches reached alarming levels of pollution. Cancun, as a world class resort, was erected at the cost of irreversible environmental damage and serious social problems such as the establishment of

irregular hamlets, without the basic services of water and electricity, where tourism sector workers have settled.

Archaeology worldwide faced many changes in the early 1980s, such as the influence of the UNESCO Convention of 1972, the creation of or amendments to National Acts regarding stewardship and ownership of archaeological heritage and human remains throughout the world. In nationalistic countries it seemed clear that one of the primary functions of archaeology was to serve the interests of the state. Recently the nationalistic approach has been changing and in some countries, such as Mexico, which have had a well-structured and strongly nationalistic archaeological legislation. The claims of “others” (indigenous populations, urban people, civil associations, or even private enterprises) have had an increasing influence on the control, management and presentation of archaeological heritage.

In Mexico, on some occasions, the nationalistic agenda has exhibited weakness in the protection of archaeological sites, not only against looters but also against urban development or the influence of tourism. A real challenge for the traditional Mexican governmental administration of archaeological heritage has been created, prompted by two facts: the weakness of the post-revolutionary political model, and the existence of the neoliberal economic trend. Undoubtedly archaeological tourism and salvage archaeology have today achieved the prestige that post-revolutionary nationalism once had. Today, Mexico’s ancient and rich cultural heritage is internationally recognised. Mexico has inscribed twenty-nine sites in UNESCO’s list of World Heritage Sites (WHS), including nine archaeological sites. As a result, Mexico is the leader in America of WHS and the sixth on a world level (WHC 2008). In addition to its WHS, there are 180 sites which represent the wide range of archaeological sites open to tourists. According to official statistics, the record number of tourists was 10,362,100 visitors to archaeological sites in 2004. The top three sites visited were Teotihuacan, Chichén Itzá, and Tulum, which altogether received 4,120,573 visitors, or 40% of the total number of visitors to archaeological sites (DataTur 2006).

Aims and Objectives

The main aim in this thesis is centred on the analysis of the relationship that has emerged from the changing uses of archaeology either for nationalist purposes and/or tourism. These ideas will be tested for the case of Mexico. In this country archaeological heritage has been widely used for both political and commercial ends. The presentation and commoditization of archaeology is particularly linked to both nation-building and the development of archaeological sites as powerful tourist attractions in post-revolutionary Mexico (1920 onwards). In order to understand the development of this relationship, the post-revolutionary period was examined in depth through the analysis of specific products with a massive national circulation: coins, banknotes, postage stamps, and guidebooks. In order to achieve the general aim, the objectives below are proposed:

- Observe the use of archaeological heritage to promote nationalism
- Identify the set of archaeological cultures that have been depicted on monetary products and stamps
- Identify the Golden Age (if it exists) on which nationalism has based its origins
- Recognize the way in which archaeological heritage was commoditized in the context of cultural changes in the 1960s
- Identify the relationship between the marketing of archaeology and light shows
- Identify the differences between the promotion of educational tourism and commercial tourism through the assessment of guidebooks
- Discuss the validity of the concept of banal nationalism and the uses of banal nationalist symbols by the tourist industry

Thesis Structure

In the pursuit of these aims and objectives the thesis has been divided into nine chapters. Chapter 1 seeks to provide the context of the subject under analyses in a wider perspective. This chapter considers the role of archaeology in providing both governments and tourism entrepreneurs with major motivation for using the past as an ideological tool, and also as a target for the marketing of heritage. This chapter aims to contextualise the ideological and economic uses of archaeology and demonstrate why and how both nationalism and tourism, two factors external to archaeological practice, have had an important impact on the development of the discipline. The first section focuses on nationalism and its relationship with archaeology. Special attention is paid to three theoretical concepts relevant to the present research: *invented communities*, *golden age*, and *banal nationalism*. In the second part, an overview of tourism and archaeology is provided and the theoretical concept of marketing of heritage is discussed in detail.

Chapter 2 deals with Mexico as a case study and focuses on politics, nationalism, and tourism. By the 1920s the ideals of the revolution were consolidated through a new nationalistic spirit, and a series of major changes and transformations in the political, social, economic, and cultural arenas began. This chapter discusses two important concepts: *indigenismo* and *mestizaje*, which are fundamental to understanding post-revolutionary nationalism. The chapter also discusses tourism as an important facet of post-revolutionary Mexico. From the early 1920s, governmental interests in developing tourism can be observed. While this incipient tourism expanded through organic growth in towns along the Mexico-USA border, in the rest of the country, and mainly in Mexico City, some more structured actions were also of important relevance. The chapter is organised in three sections: the first provides a summary of post-revolutionary nationalism focusing on *indigenismo* and *mestizaje*, the second gives a brief history of tourism, while the third proposes a framework of four periods to facilitate the analysis of the relationship of archaeology, nationalism, and tourism.

After the introductory chapters described above, in Chapter 3 the methodology followed in this doctoral thesis is explained. This research is based on the analysis of banknotes, coins, stamps, guidebooks, and statistics of visitors to archaeological sites. Specifically, the Banco de México's collection of notes (1925-2007) and coins (1905-2007), and the collection of Postage Stamps issued by the Mexican Post (1922-2005), were chosen. Commercial and institutionally

published guidebooks (1955-2000) were also assessed, and statistics of visitors to archaeological sites (1964-2006) were collected. The permanent circulation of symbols printed on nationalistic products has repercussions for the creation of a national mythology and also in the marketing of heritage. In this chapter it is argued that postage stamps, coins, banknotes, guidebooks, and statistical information form an adequate first-hand source of information for the analysis of particular narratives of the past.

In Chapter 4 the discussion is centred on the argument that the use of pre-Hispanic iconography on stamps, coins, and banknotes reflects different stages of nationalism. It is argued that the archaeological images depicted on currency and postage stamps reflect a series of changes in nationalism, which can be grouped into three chronological periods. In the first period (1909-1934), post-revolutionary nationalism is not represented in any form on the currency or stamps; in fact, in this period until the end of the revolution, the icons used were the same ones which had been created during the last third of the nineteenth century. In the second period (1934-1958), post-revolutionary nationalism was represented mainly on stamps, but to a lesser extent also on banknotes and coins. In the third period (1958-1982), an overwhelming depiction of pre-Hispanic iconography in stamps, banknotes, and coins can be observed.

Chapter 5 details the selection of the cultures of the past and the group of objects and myths that were intermingled with the foundational narratives of the nation. In the discourse of Mexican national mythology the *Aztec* (or *Mexica*) have been the prototype of the cultures of the past, and eventually have come to represent the golden age of the nation. It will be argued that, instead of taking the Mexica as a whole, the basis of the national mythology is based on three myths in particular. First is the Founding Myth (the myth of origins), the second is the hero-martyr Cuauhtémoc (myths of decline), and finally the Stone of the Sun (myth of golden age) will be assessed.

Chapter 6 presents a discussion of tourism in Mexico, centred on the analysis of the uses of archaeology and the manner in which archaeology was gradually absorbed by the cultural market. In this chapter the implications that the organization of the 1968 Olympic Games had had for the management and presentation of the past in Mexico are discussed. It is argued that the staging of the Olympics generated an important changeover in the use of archaeology from a monopoly of nationalism to a shared use with the tourist industry. Interestingly, the means by

which the nationalistic meaning of the Mexican archaeological past had been communicated to the general public was also used to promote tourism in the framework of the Olympic Games. The Olympic Postage Stamp series launched in Mexico in order to commemorate the 1968 games will be carefully examined. The first part of this chapter focuses on the cultural and political importance of the organisation of major sport events with particular relevance to the Mexican case; while the second part analyzes the Olympic postage stamps containing pre-Hispanic iconography.

Chapter 7 offers a discussion of light and sound shows, with a focus on the clashing narratives in the relationship between archaeology, nationalism, and tourism. The analysis of lights shows allows for the observation of the confluence and contradiction of two opposite narratives about the use and presentation of the past. This chapter is divided into three parts. The first part provides the context for the analysis of light shows. In the second part, a discussion of how nationalists converted light shows in the face of criticism is discussed, especially those installed at Teotihuacan, but also including light shows installed at other sites. In the third part, the use of archaeology for commercial and political purposes is discussed. The section focuses on the Mayan area, especially light shows at Chichén Itza and Uxmal.

Chapter 8 is devoted to the analysis of guidebooks. An in-depth examination of two different methods used to present and commoditize archaeological heritage is given. Since the creation of the National Institute of Anthropology and History (herein after INAH) in the late 1930s, during the florescence of nationalism, archaeological tourism was encouraged. This tourism was oriented mainly to a domestic audience, from a firm and convincing (though discreet) educational viewpoint. Such social and educational tourism has been an essential component of INAH's nationalistic orientation. Moreover, since the 1970s the promotion of tourism changed course, and archaeological sites began to be offered as a pastime. This type of tourism, usually associated with other attractions, has relied on the economic potential rather than the cultural history of the sites. In the first part of this chapter, after a brief description of the history of guidebooks, I will examine INAH's Official Guidebooks. In the second part, I will focus on the analysis of pastime tourism as represented in commercial guidebooks.

The conclusion chapter presents the main themes of the thesis and proposes that there has been a long interplay between nationalism and tourism within archaeology. Archaeology

certainly has been both a political tool and a product of the market. The use of archaeological heritage by either nationalism or the tourism industry has created an idea of the past based on a limited set of cultures, pyramids, or monuments. The results of the analysis support these ideas: on one hand, nationalism has eroded the ideological diversity of the past by reinforcing the idea that there is *a single* national mythology represented by the golden age cultures. Finally, it is proposed that archaeology has never been an independent project; it has always been affected by its social and political context.

Unlike traditional approaches to the history of archaeology, in which analysis from an internal perspective is dominant, since the early 1990s several scholars have proposed an analysis of archaeology from an external perspective. This approach pays more attention to the influence that outside circumstances have had on the development of archaeology. This approach is manifested in an open interest in the manner in which archaeology has been used and consumed as a political tool, especially by nationalism and more recently by tourism. The research presented here aims to contribute to the growing body of work which uses this innovative external approach. The main contribution of this research is the analysis of the complex relationship between nationalism, tourism, and archaeology as expressed in the detailed exploration of banknotes, coins, stamps, and guidebooks. The analysis of archaeology and its relationship with tourism and nationalism by assessing banknotes, coins, and stamps had been a virtually unexplored field. The present study represents a unique combination of perspectives, particularly stressing the deep analysis of the history of archaeology according to the social and political context in which it is practiced.

Chapter 1

Nationalism and Tourism in Archaeology

In the last two decades several scholars have highlighted the importance of the analysis of the history of archaeology from an external perspective. In particular, many studies have focused on the political use of archaeology to strengthen a sense of identity, territoriality, and community. Conversely, little attention has been paid to the impact of another growing phenomenon - global tourism. The massive growth in tourism in the middle to late twentieth century has resulted in increasing numbers of visitors to archaeological sites. It is not surprising that archaeology has been for both governments and tourist entrepreneurs a major motivation for using the past as an ideological tool and also as a target for the marketing of heritage. As a consequence, governments and private organisations in a range of countries have utilized in their own political and economic advantage the public display of archaeological artefacts and other discoveries, and have contributed to the raising of the public profile of archaeology. This chapter aims to contextualise the ideological and economic uses of archaeology and demonstrate why and how both nationalism and tourism, two factors external to archaeological practice, have had an important impact on the development of the discipline. The first section focuses on nationalism and its very disruptive relationship with archaeology. Special attention is paid to three theoretical concepts relevant to the present research: *invented communities*, *golden age* and *banal nationalism*. In the second part, an overview of tourism and archaeology is provided and theoretical concepts are discussed.

Nation and Nationalism: definition of concepts

Nation and nationalism are concepts that are not too easy to define as they have accompanied the history of thought over the last two hundred years and consequently their meaning has changed over the years. The term nation refers to a group of people who are united by a set of moral values, culture or customs. It has been observed that the nation is made by convictions, loyalties and solidarities; a nation gives a natural ownership to the people who were born in a particular country (Gellner 1983:7). The origin of the modern nation-state was recognized more clearly after the North American and French revolutions at the end of eighteenth century. However, it would be a mistake to attribute the origin of modern political nations to those violent events that finished with the loss of a colony and the ending of absolute monarchy. Changes such as the transition from an agrarian to an industrial society accelerated the emergence of the preconditions needed for the emergence and maintenance of nations. Equally important was the institutionalization of education, economic growth, industrial innovation and the standardization of the language.

The nation-state has only become solidly established as a dominant political model from World War I. Its history, however, is longer. The first recognized nation-states, were the United States of America and France in the last decades of the eighteenth century (Hobsbawm 1990:18). Currently, most countries regulate their administrative and political relations under the system of the nation-state. It is commonly accepted that there is a slow transition from the modern origin of nations in the late eighteenth century to the rise of modern nationalism in the first half of the twentieth century. Also, it is widely believed that the history of humankind in the last two hundred years is incomprehensible without the concept of nation and its derivatives (Hobsbawm 1990:1). Despite several differences around the globe, and developments during the nineteenth century, as a matter of fact nation-states were only internationally recognized after World War I.

Nationalism can be understood as the set of ideological beliefs, practices and routines that reproduce the world of the nation states (Billig 1995:37). It is the theory of political legitimacy for the nation. Nationalism as a whole aims to reach citizens through many diverse manifestations such as politics, artistic and popular movements, music, dances, and poetry. Eric Hobsbawm has defined four stages in the evolution of nationalism as a dominant political theory: proto-nationalism, its transformation (1870-1918), the apogee (1918-1950) and the current in the

late twentieth (Hobsbawm 1990) and, presumably, early twenty-first centuries. Nationalism therefore relates to ethical principles that make the basic concepts of the nation politically and culturally legitimate. Theorists of nationalism have demonstrated that there are two general forms of nationalism: political or civic, and ethnic or cultural (Díaz-Andreu 2007:5). The first is characterized by the creation of laws and treaties by which members of a community regulate their belonging to a particular group. The latter requires, as a fundamental aspect, the existence of a common link that unifies its members, such as racial kinship, speaking the same language, or evidencing the same set of cultural practices (Smith 1991).

The intention of this research is not to discuss to any extent theorizations of nationalism, but rather its relationship with archaeology. This work, then, is aligned with scholars who believe that the nations are a phenomenon that emerges during the late eighteenth century, being consolidated during the nineteenth, and that nationalism, as an ideology, is used in many different ways to legitimize the nation.

Imagined Communities

An overwhelming literature has been published about nationalism. Heated debates have focused, for example, on the question of whether nationalism originated in Latin America and then spread throughout Western Europe, or vice versa. Amongst the multiple studies of nationalism, three concepts are of particular interest for this research: Benedict Anderson's *imagined communities*, Anthony Smith's *golden age* and Michael Billig's *banal nationalism*.

Benedict Anderson considers that for the origin of nationalism, and the creation of an imagined community, two intertwined factors were important: the reduction of privileged access to particular ancient languages, and the emergence of the printing press, both in the context of capitalism (Anderson 1993:46). For Anderson, the invention of the printing press facilitated the dissemination of newspapers and printed literature, with the result that independent, geographically separate individuals were able to share the same information and ideas. That is to say, they formed an "imagined community". According to Anderson a nation is an imagined *political* community. He points out that it is "imagined" because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, or even hear about them, yet in

the minds of each the image of their communion exists (Anderson 1991:5-6). The creation of an imagined community made necessary the establishment of institutions to spread feelings of common identity.

Golden Age

The renowned sociologist Anthony Smith has argued that nationalism can be divided into civil and ethnic nationalism. The definitions of both have been given above but here it is important to mention that for Smith the ethnic model of nationalism added a variant to the western (French) model of civic nationalism and, as explained below, the concept of “Golden Age” is related to it. The ethnic model of nationalism was centred on the reinforcement of traditional values to be incorporated into the function of the present. Characteristics such as the elevation of the vernacular culture and the re-writing of history from a “nativist” point of view are important for the ethnic model. Similarly a glorification of certain vernacular values, linked with the modern nation, is normally observed. In ethnic nationalism the writing of history cannot be considered as an intellectual exercise or pastime, but rather as a question of national honour and an imperative obligation for the good of the community.

Smith considers that no nation can survive without a homeland or a myth of common origin and descendants (Smith 1986:145-149). He suggests that modern society creates a paradox: on the one hand, there is a huge appetite for innovations, and on the other, there exists a deep nostalgia for the past (Smith 1986:174). This nostalgia has led to the emergence of an analytical category that has been defined as the “Golden Age”, characterized by the representation of a time of splendour, with sages, saints, heroes and myths; a time when the community acquired its classic form, and from which glorious memories are inherited (Smith 1986:191). A Golden Age and the modern nation are united by a linear development that includes its splendour, declination and rebirth. This may contain different cultures from the past, but it is essential that the final result expresses the creation of a unified past that grants conviction and satisfaction for all, where there must be no doubt, contradiction, or conflicting accounts, in order to avoid distorting the mythical origin (Smith 1986:191-192). These myths may be embodied in different forms: in the writing of history, or in the creation of buildings, statues, tombs or memorials. The virtues of national myths are also remembered in the names of

streets, cities and commemorative plaques. A national mythology is therefore seen as an inseparable aspect of modern nation states.

Banal Nationalism

In addition to the concepts of “imagined communities” and “Golden Age”, a third concept that is relevant for the understanding of how nationalism has appropriated archaeology is Michael Billig’s “banal nationalism”. Billig has developed an innovative proposal to analyze how nationalism is reproduced on a daily basis. For Billig, the grand theories of nationalism cannot give an account of the processes of transmission and reactivation of nationalism in quotidian contexts. He notes, in one of my many favourite phrases of his, that ordinary citizens do not wake up every morning, and collectively declare, “while the sun shines in the vineyard of the Lord, Today, I choose to be North American,” (Billig 1995:42) this election is not possible . Nationality is something that cannot be chosen, but is something so internalized that it seems to be an integral part of each individual’s identity. Billig also states that, as social beings, we are shaped to think in terms of nations; our behaviour is structured within the framework of “us, the nationals” and “them, the foreigners”.

To explain this interesting process Billig uses the metaphor of a “waved” and “unwaved” flag. Flag-waving represents the vehement and flamboyant public expression of nationalism, for example on national holidays or at State funerals. This is when the ideological and material power of the nation can be seen by millions of people anywhere in the world. The un-waving flag represents an alternative state when the flag is not flying and drums are not beaten, for instance, when the flag is hanging down in the flagpole of the central plaza or at any building, without much attention from anyone. If people did not identify with a nation, nation-states would disappear, and for this reason it is extremely important to feed nationalist feelings permanently. It is important to understand how a nation is maintained and reproduced once it is created (Billig 1995:42).

Billig argues that theorists of nationalism have failed to explain how nationalism, as a political ideology, is maintained and reproduced during periods when the flag is not waving. According to Billig such theorists have not found a word to define ideological and

psychological motivations in the reproduction of nationalism in everyday life. What is needed is a set of beliefs, habits, assumptions and practice in order for a nation-state to make itself “everyday” (Billig 1995). Billig suggests that to understand how nationalism is reinvented and transmits in a daily basis, it is necessary to analyze what means or mechanisms are used beyond fatuous celebrations. Then it is necessary to stretch interpretations of the word nationalism, having in mind the concept of “banal nationalism”. Banal nationalism refers to all sets of cultural manifestations that the state uses to maintain and feed nationalistic sentiments. This concept aims to explain how, during “unwaved” moments, a nationalistic ideology is maintained. According to Billig, just by looking at how TV news is told, how journalism is written, and also how messages on banknotes, coins or postage stamps are depicted, it will be possible to be aware of the implicit forms by which the nation-state wants the citizens to imagine, perceive, and reproduce the nation.

It is important to mention that the term “banal” should not be confused as meaning “inoffensive” or “harmless”. On the contrary, banal nationalism is used to remind citizens of the supreme values of the nation. It is a sublime and powerful persuasion for remembering that we live in a world of nations, and that in extremes cases such as wars, the lives of ordinary citizens are worthless when compared with the integrity of the nation.

In summary, these three studies by Benedict Anderson, Anthony Smith and Michael Billig have special relevance for the present investigation and will be taken as the theoretical foundation throughout this work. I will use the concept of an imagined community to establish observations of how individuals are persuaded to imagine themselves as part of a national community. The concept of the Golden Age will allow analyses of the ideological bridge of the modern nation-state to an ancestral mythology. Finally, the concept of banal nationalism will show how the nation-state recreates nationalism in particular forms for its permanent reproduction in the mundane and quotidian world.

Archaeology as an ideological tool

From an external point of view the study of archaeology has experienced rapid changes worldwide in recent decades (Hassan 2006). It seemed that for a long time archaeologists studied "the past" as if it were hidden amongst pyramids, pots and burials waiting to be simply unveiled by the excavators' trowel. Archaeologists converted objects, sites, bones, and stones into their "raison d'être". Archaeology was understood as synonymous with the past and its main goal was devoted to the display, in museums and books, of objects recovered by excavation. However, the practice of professional archaeology has grown more diverse. Whilst the public image of archaeological activities continues to be based upon the discovery of "lost cities", the actual practice of archaeology has experienced a massive change, both in theoretical and social arenas.

Public perceptions of archaeology are very mixed. It is considered to be a relaxing, exciting, intriguing, and adventurous discipline. These ideas are based largely on the appearance and way of life of early archaeologists, and even on the former appeal of archaeology as an esoteric discipline (Trigger 1989:3). This perception of archaeology has recently been further promoted by mass media through the *Indiana Jones* and *Tomb Raider* movies (Holtorf 2005:44). This image has been portrayed not only by parties outside of the discipline, but also from within. Fieldwork-devoted archaeologists have generally promoted a positive, laid-back self-image, presenting the discovery of ancient tombs or artefacts, and describing the romantic fascination of being the first to touch a newly uncovered antiquity. Readily available images of archaeology make normal the relationship between archaeology and the modern world. Contemporary life is surrounded by archaeological scenes and references which appear, for example, on banknotes, coins, stamps, tourist brochures, billboards, cartoons, movies, theme parks, metro stations, souvenirs, bus stations, and street names. Popular culture and archaeology have been associated in so many ways that it seems normal to have archaeology as part of the everyday life. Indeed, it is hard to escape seeing, feeling or imagining at least one archaeological site or representation in a normal day.

Seminal studies on the history of archaeology demonstrate that, beyond colonial stereotypes of archaeologists and archaeology, the significance of archaeological research has been fundamental in the creation of identities. Some authors stress the link between archaeology and its social, political, and economic context (Trigger 1989), and valuable works on the

relationship of politics and archaeology have also been published (Fowler 1987; Gathercole and Lowenthal 1990; Trigger 1984). Equally important has been the study of nationalism in the emergence and institutionalization of archaeology. The literature on archaeology and nationalism multiplied in the 1990s (Atkinson, et al. 1996; Díaz-Andreu and Champion 1996; Kohl and Fawcett 1995b; Meskell 1998; Oyuela-Caycedo 1994; Trigger 1994); new thoughts about nationalism and archaeology have also emerged in the last decade (Díaz-Andreu 2007; Díaz-Andreu and Smith 2001). A significant numbers of papers have also been published in the wake of this discourse, on nationalism and archaeology, covering a wide range of areas and local problems.

Although archaeology reached the status of a scientific discipline during the late 19th century, consolidated through the 20th century, in the context of the creation of nation-states, it is worth mentioning that not all national archaeology is nationalist. Philip Kohl mentions rightly that to be national does not imply to be *nationalistic*. On the contrary, a nationalistic archaeology uses archaeologists and their data in the nation-building process (Kohl 1998:226). However, different regions show different forms of the link between archaeology and nationalism. In Great Britain, for example, formed by four different countries, there is no integrated state archaeological service (Champion 1996:129). In Spain, for instance, the reorganization of the country after the end of Franco's dictatorship generated so many ethnic nationalisms that is difficult to fit them all into just one archaeology (Díaz-Andreu 1996:86). In the Mexican case it is noticeable that there is still a strong nationalist feeling for the Aztecs and associated objects despite the fact that most of the archaeology is practiced under a nationalist scheme. This includes a huge amount of research that is done not necessarily to satisfy the needs of politicians, although it is worth mentioning that nationalism is still using a very limited set of the available archaeological heritage.

The use of the pre-Columbian past was of paramount importance as an ideological element in the emergence of new countries. In these countries, nationalism was the most important aspect in the rhetoric of independence. The political environment in Latin America prior to independence was tense, due to events such as the French Revolution (1789-1799) and the subsequent invasion, by Napoleon, of Spain (1808-1814), both of which were well known in the Americas. It has been recognized that the French Revolution sparked a series of

consequences in America, including the dissolution of the Spanish and Portuguese empires (Díaz-Andreu 2007:87). Far from being bastions of empires, colonies had developed a political and cultural life that was fairly advanced and comparable with that of European cities of the time.

Archaeology and Nationalism

The consolidation of the nation-states became the most important element that facilitated the institutionalization of archaeology. Díaz-Andreu states that the development of archaeology as a scientific discipline in the nineteenth century can only be understood in the context of the creation of a national history. That is to say, a history directed at legitimizing the existence of a nation and, therefore, its right to constitute an independent nation-state (Díaz-Andreu, 1996:54). Importantly, nation-states have used a hegemonic discourse of the past through nationalism. Justifying the power and making men and women feel that they are part of that history is one of the *leitmotifs* of nationalism. Nation-states have played a significant role in reproducing and maintaining the ideological linkage with the past. It has been observed that countries in which autonomy is threatened by more powerful nations are also those which generate a strong nationalist sentiment and this has an effect in how archaeology is politicized (Trigger 1984:360).

Nationalism has used a diverse set of ways to spread the idea of the nation, with archaeology playing a key role and proving to be an excellent tool for transforming the past in national mythology. The use and, in some cases, the manipulation of the past became a normal practice in the nation-making process. Governments have re-created, or even invented their past in order to justify their political establishment or political power (Kohl and Fawcett 1995b). Archaeological findings have been added to reinforce contemporary national history and imagination, revitalizing or denying some particular passages, or focusing on certain facts accordingly to their current political significance. It has been argued that political agendas used archaeology either to justify dictatorships or to promote an ideal or romantic past (cf. Atkinson 1996). Nationalism provided the context for the professionalization and institutionalization of archaeology, but archaeology supplied many of the nation's most powerful symbols (Díaz-Andreu and Champion 1996:23; Kohl and Fawcett 1995a:10; Smith 2001:447). It is certainly true that objects and monuments such as Copan in Honduras, Tikal in Guatemala, Teotihuacan in

Mexico, Stonehenge in UK, the Acropolis in Greece, and Pompeii in Italy have been elevated to the heights of national official symbols. This is just one of the many ways by which archaeology has been used in the naturalization of nation states.

Archaeology as ideology

Philip Kohl and Clare Fawcett (Kohl and Fawcett 1995b:5) argue that the linkage between power and archaeology has, in some cases, resulted in “abuses” of the past by nation-states which have created political movements to enhance a supposedly racial superiority. It has also allowed the highlighting of a cultural period of the prehistoric past to authenticate a particular regime or power, for example those of Salazar in Portugal, Franco in Spain, and Stalin in the Soviet Union. They each distorted the past in order to create their own history. By far the most radical and ruthless example of the use of the past to reinforce a totalitarian government is that of the German Third Reich in which the Nazis drew on the whole state apparatus for the propagation of their doctrine of German superiority (McCann 1990); their assertion of so-called Aryan superiority led to the genocide of millions of people. This abuse of archaeological results by the Nazi apparatus was a dark chapter in the history of humanity but Robin Dennell correctly asserts that the abuse of nationalism is still commonplace. He mentions that in recent years this can be seen in the resurgence of an aggressive, intolerant branch of ethnic nationalism, in which ethnic and/or nationalist aspirations are fed by a version of the historical and archaeological past. These versions of the past can be used to legitimize the rights of one group over another and to justify expulsion, murder, and the seizure of property and territory. This aggression could be found in the fragmentation of Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union, in neo-Nazism in Germany, and in neo-fascism in Italy (Dennell 1996:29).

The use of the past as a finely-honed propaganda tool is also seen in Latin America during the late eighteenth and early decades of the nineteenth century, where it opened the way to emancipation from Colonial dominance. Struggles for political independence against a dominating foreign power finally resulted in political autonomy. The existence of monumental sites and monumental objects built before the Conquest of America made possible the inclusion of pre-Hispanic past in national history. Archaeological monuments in Mexico and Peru were known from the sixteenth century and, indeed, some had been excavated. Pre-Hispanic

monuments in both Mesoamerica and the Andean region were considered products of past high civilizations, so the integration of these sites by nationalists into the national history was almost a natural move. However, due to their distance from the classical stereotypes, mainly the monumental and sculptural remains from the Greek and Roman classical civilizations, their integration into the national discourse was different in essence from that of the European cases. The independences of Peru and Mexico bear striking similarities as both were characterized by being promulgated by a new social group (the creoles) appealing to an indigenous past, which essentially did not represent continuity with their current cultural values. The countries of Latin America had another extremely important element of differentiation: whilst for western Europe, the Greeks and their culture were considered part of a glorious origin, in Latin America the pre-Hispanic monuments and cultures were regarded as precisely the aesthetic antithesis of this (Díaz-Andreu 2007:81).

In summary, the professional practice of archaeology was the legitimate product of Nationalism. In the last decades interest has focused on the study of the relationship between political strategies and the practice of archaeology (Kohl and Fawcett 1995a). From this perspective a vein is opened that shows that the results of academic research, beyond contributing to scientific knowledge, have also been used to support nationalist ideologies (Arnold and Hassmann 1995; McCann 1990; Stone 1999; Vázquez 1994, 1996).

Tourism: an overview

Nationalism has not only been the only modern phenomenon that has influenced archaeology. As explained above, another major influence in many countries, and increasingly world-wide, is tourism. The impact of tourism has been so overwhelming that only recently has an emerging field of study begun to measure its importance in the transformation of global society. Beyond its economic face as an *industry*, tourism is also a cultural phenomenon. In the last decades interest in research into tourism and tourists has increased massively. Due to its wide scope, it is not possible to consider the topic as a whole, and several approaches have developed which pay particular attention to specific aspects. These include emotional motivations (Brown 2006), sex tourism (Cohen 1993), heritage tourism (Castañeda 1996), power and tourism (Church and Coles 2007), the politics of tourism (Collins 1979), archaeological tourism (Duke 2007), tourism and nationalism (Hagen 2006), and a long list of related topics (Minca and Oakes 2006; Pai 1999; Prideaux, et al. 2008).

Tourism is sensitive to unpredictable and exogenous changes, both national and international, and also cultural transformations and natural unexpected events. Among the positive advancements that contributed to its development are the construction of roads, railways, and other infrastructure, the manufacture of automobiles and airplanes, and the development of means of promotion. Other factors include government agencies, private companies, associations, publishers, and a wide range of professionals and technicians. It is equally important to consider the social conditions within the tourist's home country, as well as specific conditions within the countries visited. The decision to travel may be determined by a combination of all these factors. World wars, guerrilla warfare, revolutions and, recently, terrorism and piracy, have all resulted in fewer visitors to particular destinations at different times. It is worth mentioning that natural phenomena like hurricanes or earthquakes, and global health epidemics, also make tourism unstable and cause uncertainty for policymakers and developers, as well as for tourists.

Tourism is a global and multi-sector phenomenon with many connections and associations in modern life (Jafari 2000:585). Research on tourism has revealed hidden issues besides the economic successes of the so-called "biggest industry". Statistics published annually

reveal the astonishing economic and cultural dimensions of tourism and show the diversity of this major *industry*. The figures hint at the enormous international scope of this complex cultural process. Tourism today, probably more than ever, is not only built on domestic needs but also reflects adjustments and changes on a global scale. Transformations such as the development of technology, the Internet, TV, radio, the printed press, international travel agencies, hosts and guests, all suggest that the leisure industry offers a potent, novel subject for research. In the first part of this section a brief history of mass tourism is provided; the second part of the discussion is centred on the relationships that exist between tourism, culture heritage and archaeology.

A Brief History of Mass Tourism

Modern tourism does not follow a linear evolution or history; it is the result of economic, technological and cultural developments. However, a point of departure for modern tourism can be found in the European “Grand Tour” which was developed during the sixteenth century, reaching its apogee in the eighteenth century and surviving in modified ways until the nineteenth century (Towner 1985:303). The Grand Tour refers to a circuit of Europe undertaken by wealthy, gentlemen – and some young ladies – but also other Europeans, who embarked on a solitary or/and accompanied and not always riskless adventure. The focus was not on natural landscapes or the seaside, but rather on the main capital cities of countries such as Italy, France, and Germany, although visits also extended to Spain, Portugal and Greece (Jafari 2000:259). The tour lasted from two to eight years. These long journeys were made for various reasons, for example to complement education, for diplomatic training, or as a farewell to the ‘single’ life. The Grand Tour was originally associated with aristocratic culture but later the children of professionals and upper middle class also gained access to this privilege (Black 1992; Hibbert 1974).

Using a different approach, it has been recognized worldwide by specialists that mass tourism was heavily developed following the Industrial Revolution (Ballengee-Morris 2002:234; Brendon 1991:15-16; Towner and Wall 1991:75; Urry 2002:16-30). This transformation did not exist in isolation but was associated with major changes in manufacturing, agriculture, mining, and transport. Social changes caused by production chains in factories were even more important. The English Industrial Revolution also created, as a side-effect, another industry:

leisure. The right to leisure time for workers in factories slowly spread all over the world. Early tourism took shape on the beaches of the English seaside, developing first in the south, e.g. at Brighton, and later moving further north to places such as Blackpool partly thanks to the development of the railway. At these emerging seaside leisure resorts, elite and working class people began to intermingle during the second half of the nineteenth century (Urry 2002:26; Walton 2000:27 ss). This development was curtailed by the advent of World War I.

By the 1920s, mass production of cars gradually allowed a more intensive movement of people. In the United States for instance, automobile touring which was initially popular with the upper class was later taken up by the middle class (Hugill 1985:437). In England, by about the 1920s seaside tourism was slowly moving out into the warmer Mediterranean coasts (Urry 2002:53) and other regions of the world, greatly helped by the development of air transport (Papatheodorou 2004:220). These developments in infrastructure created a new holiday style based on sunbathing. Bikinis and tanning were actually an invention of the years after the 1950s. The move from the often inclement English seaside to more tropical areas enhanced elements of sensuality and pleasure for holiday-makers, although two centuries earlier the tropics had been considered to be places of economic and cultural backwardness. A sun tan had then been associated with the dark-skinned natives of such places and was therefore undesirable (Cocks 2007:215).

Exogenous factors such as World War II greatly impacted all aspects of life and as a side effect paralyzed the emerging tourism industry. However, the post-war growth of tourism boomed into a billionaire industry, embracing all social classes (Ballengee-Morris 2002:234; Cohen 1984:376). By the 1950s, in the new world, the emerging form of tourism as the “industry without chimneys” continued to grow. Seaside resorts began a period of expansion and development worldwide. In Latin America, new tourist destinations were created. For example, Acapulco on the Mexican coast, boomed after the 1950s when it became the leisure place of choice for retired U.S. military personnel who had participated in World War II (Ramírez 1987:483). Until this time, the tourism industry had been dominated by the unique attraction of the seaside in its different forms, from the cooler English resorts to tropical and Mediterranean coasts.

The development of *cultural* tourism provided a major transformation at the dawn of the 1960s. The United Nation's former mission of promoting peace motivated a number of fundamental changes in the new tourism offerings. It was then that, for the first time, archaeological sites were included the international circuit of mass tourism. The rescue of the Nubian monuments in Egypt, coordinated by UNESCO and carried out in 1959 (Säve-Söderbergh 1987), contributed relatively in the creation of a new wave of cultural tourism. Since then, archaeological sites around the world have rapidly been quietly but extensively commoditized and integrated into the global tourism offering. It has been observed that one of the strongest factors affecting such commoditization of archaeological sites is the growing role of tourism in world economies (Ardren 2004:103).

The growing post-war global awareness of World Heritage Sites (WHS) has increased the number of tourists per year to these destinations. The whole process of listing and more world awareness of WHS created in the context of the 1972 UNESCO convention, could be claimed as an indirect factor or the increment of number of visitors to cultural destinations, archaeological sites being recognized as an important component of these. Archaeological tourism has grown slowly but steadily. Internationally, UNESCO, whether intentionally or not, has promoted heritage tourism since late 1960s. The most visited countries in the world are also those that have more sites inscribed on the World Heritage List. The impact of tourism seems to reach beyond its economic affect. It is particularly true that, through archaeological tourism, countries have created a world in which history provides a voice and a means to mobilise resources (Silverman 2002:883). Consequently, archaeological heritage has been used extensively by both national institutions and private enterprises for marketing, for making identity, and for promoting tourism.

In recent decades it can be seen that private enterprise has been more involved in cultural tourism. In England for example, recent developments in the cultural industry of tourism has resulted in a permanent move to either whole or partial privatization. Of the museums opened in the 1980s, 56% were owned by private firms (Urry 2002:95). Many of these companies have developed new approaches to representing history through the commoditization of the past; they do not necessarily represent historical facts but use the past as a commodity. This has largely happened as a result of the introduction of novel ways of marketing heritage tourism. The past,

as a commodity, must attract the attention of the public. One example of this is that of the European cities, forty in number since 1985. The selected cities have undergone a profound transformation both before and after being nominated as European Capital of Culture (e.g. Athens, Porto, Cracow, Glasgow, Liverpool, and Istanbul).

The boom in new low cost commercial aviation after 1990 increased the mobility of tourists to levels never seen before. International agencies moved tourism into a new phase of maturity and, although it continues growing today, it does so in a more controlled manner. In the European Community the Schengen Agreement eliminated internal border controls among several European countries. This has led to greater movement of people between countries since 1995. Also, this decade is characterized by a major interest in controlling the “carrying capacity” of attractions, especially ancient monuments and heritage cities (Canestrelli and Costa 1991). Although with some criticisms (Lindberg, et al. 1997), the concept of the carrying capacity concept has proved to be valid. Similarly important is the Global Code of Ethics for Tourism published by UNESCO (UNWTO 1999).

Since the 1990s, sustainable tourism has been proposed to promote a more friendly relationship with the environment and local populations. The sustainability movement aims to achieve a more equal balance between enjoyments and exploitation of natural and cultural resources, closer relationships between hosts and guests, and a more appropriate management and administration of cultural and natural resources. Similarly, a more equal distribution of revenues has been required of governments and stakeholders. Interactions between countries and international organizations have also enhanced tourism. However, a thick layer of problems underlying the positive façade of tourism remains unsolved. There are also social complaints and criticism about the negative effect on the environment. This is an aspect that has been increasingly highlighted in relation to the regulation of the management of natural and cultural resources (Hunter 1997; O'Grady 1990; UNESCO 1995).

Tourism: definitions and statistics

Tourism, according to the most basic definition is “the business of providing services for people who are travelling for their holiday” and a tourist is “someone who is visiting a place in holiday” (MED 2007). According to its Greek roots the term refers to a specific tool used in describing a circle. This definition therefore encompasses an essential feature of tourism: a return to the point of departure (Leiper 1979:391). However, the term does not reflect the diversity and complex activities of tourism. Tourism is basically the activity of people travelling out with the intention of coming back to their permanent place of residence. Tourists do not travel to a guest country to work for money. Rather, tourism is essentially an activity of consumption (Leiper 1979; Minca and Oakes 2006; Church and Coles 2007). Tourism relates to the movement of people who, temporarily, travel away from their homes to other places, seeking health, spirituality, fun, relaxation, and business.

The most widely accepted definition of tourism was approved in 1968 by the International Union of Official Travel Organisations (which, in 1970, was transformed to the United Nations World Tourism Organisation, UNWTO) (Cohen 1984:374; Leiper 1979:393; Morley 1990:5). In 1963 the United Nations organised a conference to agree on a definition of the visitor or tourist. For statistical purposes a visitor was defined as “a person visiting a country other than that in which he has his usual place of residence, for any reason other than following an occupation remunerated from within the country visited” (Amaya 2006:12; Leiper 1979:393). In Morley a much broader discussion on the definitions of tourism can be found. It was published in the early 1990s but in essence it contains basic elements that remain valid today (Morley 1990).

Using the criteria of the UNWTO 2008 report (UNWTO 2008:1), the development of the tourism industry has experienced a substantial growth in activity which clearly indicates that tourism has been one of the most remarkable economic and social phenomena of the 20th century. The number of world “international airport arrivals” shows an evolution from 25 million in 1950 to a record figure of over 900 million in 2007 (Figure 1). Most of the revenues were concentrated in Europe and the United States. It is noticeable that an emerging economy such as Mexico leads the table in Latin America with 21 million visitors.

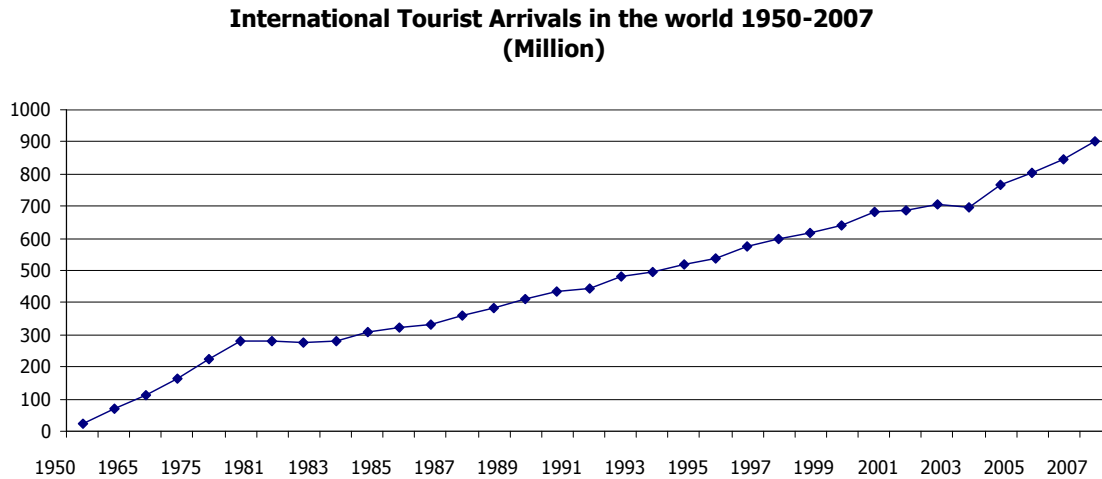


Figure 1. International arrivals in the world 1950-2007 (Source UNWTO 2008a:1)

Looking at the five regions included in the UNWTO 2008 report (UNWTO 2008:3), from the 1950s all have registered increases above their long-term average. The Middle East leading the growth ranking with an estimated 16% rise to nearly 48 million international tourist arrivals. In second place is Asia and the Pacific (184 million) with +10% over 2006. In Africa international tourist arrivals increased 7% to a total of 44 million. The Americas (+5%) did better than in previous years, achieving over 142 million arrivals. Europe, the world's largest destination region, with a share of 54% of all international tourist arrivals, grew by 5% to reach 484 million (Figure 2).

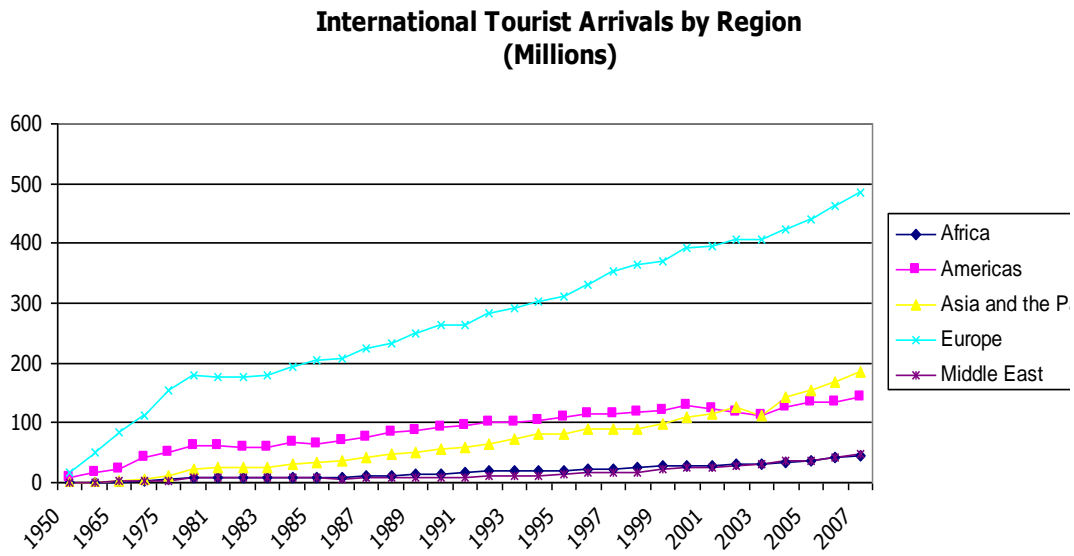


Figure 2. International arrivals by region (Source UNWTO 2008a:3).

The top 50 attractions of the world according to Forbes

Forbes Traveller magazine conducted a survey to rank the 50 most visited attractions in the modern world based on the number of tourist visits in 2007, including both international and domestic tourists (Table 1). Times Square in New York appears as the most visited destination with 35 million tourists, while the Taj Mahal in India is the last on the list with 2.4 million visitors. Interestingly, these 50 top attractions include the most important archaeological sites in the world. For example, China's Great Wall is located at 11th position, reporting 10 million tourists a year (www.forbes.com).

Top 50	Attraction	Country	Visitors in 2007
1	Times Square	United States of America	35 million
2	National Mall & Memorial Parks	United States of America	25
3	Disney World's Magic Kingdom	United States of America	16.6
4	Trafalgar Square	United Kingdom	15
5	Disneyland Park	United States of America	14.7
6	Niagara Falls	Canada and United States of America	14
7	Fisherman's Wharf/Golden Gate National Recreation Area	United States of America	13
8	Tokyo Disneyland/Disney Sea	Japan	12.9
9	Notre Dame de Paris	France	12
10	Disneyland Paris	France	10.6
11	The Great Wall of China	China	10
17	The Forbidden City/Tiananmen Square	China	7
27	British Museum	United Kingdom	4.8
47	Pyramids of Giza	Egypt	3
50	Taj Mahal	India	2.4

Table 1. Sample of top 50 attraction of the world (www.forbes.com)

The economic definition of tourism has largely been the basis on which international organisations quantify tourism. Operatively, this has been extremely useful for measuring its impact on economy. However, this definition has presented problems with the exclusion of a number of tourists who do not fit within the classification, and in the way that those that do are counted; the definition becomes ambiguous and the true impact of tourism is obscured. A huge number of international visits are occasioned by business, academic, religious, and health purposes, but do not necessarily involve the activities of pleasure, leisure, or relaxation. In fact, travelling on business or for academic purposes is usually classed as “work time”, i.e. remunerated. However, tourism is about much more than numbers.

The tourism “definition and numbers” approach is only valid in understanding the economic aspect of interactions on a global scale. The publication of statistics has made it possible to observe the economic impact of factors grouped generically as the *tourism industry*. This involves a wide span of different categories and types of activities related to hotels, transport, and market research publications on the tourist-receiving country, and others such as local ice cream vendors on any street of any city (Morley 1990:4).

It has been rightly argued that tourism is not only an industry but also a cultural process (Higgins-Desbiolles 2006). Deconstruction beyond statistics is needed to analyze particular aspects. Tourism is a truly multi-disciplinary field of study (Jafari 2000:585). Tourist offerings are very diverse, from the traditional “sun and beach” holiday to modes such as ecotourism, and adventure and cultural destinations. Attractions or destinations are not endlessly-enjoyable places *per se*. Destinations are social constructions in time and space. Tourism is highly dependent on exogenous factors that can be as diverse as the means of transport, highways, airports, hotels, services, and railways. Some destinations provide specific services and may even rely on the availability of horses, elephants, or camels.

It has been noted that the tourism industry has used archaeology for its own purposes, and that this set of information is generally created for *western* tourists (Duke 2007:14). The western international market is the main beneficiary of archaeological tourism, which makes wealthier the proponents of international free-markets (Higgins-Desbiolles 2006:1193). Despite the enthusiastic input of neo-liberal policy-makers for archaeological tourism, it has been observed

that the most serious threat to archaeological sites is tourism itself. The management, protection, conservation and authenticity of archaeological remains are being debated (Skeates 2000).

Tourism remains a multi-edged sword. In developed countries it generates additional resources to supplement other national activities such as mining, manufacturing, and oil exportation. The converse occurs in developing countries where economic dependence on the profits created by tourism is of huge concern given the instability of the sector. As globalization of the world increases, a better understanding is needed to coordinate the role of tourism in modern societies. Tourism referred to simplistic as an *industry*, is somehow limiting. It is actually a powerful instrument of cultural transformation through which the past has been transformed into a valuable commodity.

Tourism in Developing Countries

From the figures presented above, it would seem that tourism emerges victorious from history. However the true situation is not quite so clear. The apparent success of the tourism industry has not contributed to the democratization of travel (Cohen 1984:377). The number of international arrivals by tourists per year is insignificant in comparison to the total population of the world which stands at 7,000,000.000. Tourists travelling in 2007 represented only 0.01 percent. These figures become even more disproportionate if it is considered that, while most of the population lives in Africa and Asia, the largest number of tourists come from Western Europe and North America. In this regard, there is no doubt that tourism could be considered as a neo-colonial and imperialist enterprise associated, and promoted by and for, the rich developed countries and affluent people in developing countries.

Tourism in developing countries is generally associated with government institutions and local or international investors. This is because tourism in these places has become a major source of foreign exchange. It provides employment and assists both the formal and informal economy. Although tourism in developing countries is presented as an indisputable source of foreign currency, it is common for revenues to return to the investors who are generally located in the rich and powerful countries (O'Grady 1990:6-10). For example, it has been claimed that 85% of the proceeds of tourism produced in Africa goes back to investors and stakeholders in

developed countries. Tourism in developing countries is hardly structured in order to balance and improve local economies; the social, political and natural negative costs of unplanned tourism have been a permanent problem. In order to obtain foreign exchange, local and federal governments run projects to supposedly solve local economic problems but generally these end in disaster. In the long term, tourism strategies in developing countries have been too weak and fragile in their submission to capitalism.

Positive Image of Tourism

Tourism as an entertainment industry has directly or indirectly created an idealized image of leisure time, presenting positive representations of sandy white beaches, romantic ancient sites, bright shopping malls, or exotic wilderness (Cornelissen 2005). Guide books, internet, TV, radio, newspapers, and magazines are designed to present an attractive image of the "must see" or "must do". In all cases, the most important aspect in the marketing of tourism is the creation of a hedonist image, which is usually intentionally de-contextualised. Indeed, it has been shown that positive images are a determining factor in persuading the prospective tourist to choose a particular destination or activity (Araña and León 2008:301; Gallarza, et al. 2002:432; Sönmez 1998).

Offers of a sybaritic and epicurean style of holiday have been based on western values of relaxation and leisure. In modern times, the promotion of resorts is structured around the concept of a "return to the Eden", especially in relation to tropical destinations such as beaches (Andriotis 2010; Cocks 2007:217). Here, the marketing of tourism is designed to respond to the tourist's day-dreaming and fantasies, and suggest pleasure in every sense: sexual, emotional, and physical (Feifer 1986; Rojek 1993). Promoters of tourism offer idyllic places with the promise of relaxation, leisure, and hedonism. The positive visual promotion of sun and sand destinations has traditionally been commercialized on magazine covers using all-smiling faces of sensual women in erotic poses in bikinis, or metro-sexual topless men. The arrangements of these images idealize the adventure amid sun bathing, smiles, hugs, and happiness. Also photographs of beautiful hotels and cruise ships, create unsurpassed, and idealized images of "the perfect holiday". In addition to presenting an ideal life, this metaphor of "Paradise on Earth" is, conversely, used to promote the concept of holidays as the *antithesis* of everyday life. Here,

tourism becomes the perfect means to escape from boring, everyday normality. This powerful appeal lies mainly in the promise of release, albeit temporary, from quotidian life. Tourism marketing makes extensive use of suggestions of relief from the anguish and stress of modern society.

Cultural Tourism

Cultural tourism refers to the commoditization of museums, historical cities, archaeological sites and other attractions. In essence it is the opposite of traditional sun and beach tourism (though combined forms of cultural tourism with sun and sand can be purchased). Cultural tourism is also promoted from a positive perspective, similar to sun and beach holidays described above, but there is a fundamental and interesting difference. For cultural tourism, and especially for heritage, the presumed objective of the tourist quest is *authenticity*. The tourist is invited to know “more typical ancient ruins” or experience places “where time has not passed”. This quest of “authenticity” is the equivalent of the demand for “relaxation and fun” for the beach holiday. This seemingly innocent proposition has caused heated debate about authenticity in the representation of the past, particularly with regard to the marketing of heritage.

In an article promoting Cancun, Mexico, published in 2009 in the promotional magazine of Newcastle International Airport, it is stated that “more spicy than the chilli and more intoxicating than the tequila, Mexico inspires a passion that’s as fiery as its food”, also stating that “Shopaholics will not be disappointed, in Cancun you can find retail therapy in a good number of glittering malls just a few meters from the hotel”. In the same magazine there are items on archaeological tourism, including “the fascinating labyrinth of structures and mystical reliefs, hidden in the dense jungle, waiting to be discovered. These can be found at Chichén Itzá, the New Star of the show, officially voted to be one of the spaces of the New Seven Wonders of the World” (New Horizons 2009:15).

The Marketing of Heritage

The marketing of heritage is a global movement (Costa 2004:69). The use of archaeological heritage by the tourism industry has made archaeological sites into protagonists in the struggle for the control of heritage, creating different narratives of the past in contested ways never seen before. The marketing of archaeological heritage is currently a controversial issue with archaeological sites and objects being used directly for the sake of the market.

The offer of the “past with a positive image” is extremely widespread and diverse, with private enterprises gaining ground in the use and manipulation of archaeological heritage in the marketing of unrelated products. Designs inspired by archaeology can be seen in the marketing of beer, cheeses, coffee, car rental, excursions, perfumes, and t-shirts. Many such products are sold in gift shops at heritage sites. It has been demonstrated that gift shops contribute to raising funding for the management of archaeological sites and also that the products sold are not just souvenirs but promote a particular version of the past (Baram and Rowan 2004:7; Gazin-Schwartz 2004:98).

Culture heritage, from this perspective, is managed as any other product of the modern market. This is particularly true for gift shops, which have an important place in the arrangements of museums and archaeological sites. Their strategic placement, generally either at the entrance or on the way out, presents a tempting invitation to acquire a reproduction of the past. In a study carried out on gift shops it was demonstrated that souvenirs are made to create a particular idea of the past (Gazin-Schwartz 2004:100) and that, in the gift shop, visitors receive a lasting flavour of their visit to an archaeological or historical site. These places, if apparently naïvely, offer a limited and specific version of the past (Gazin-Schwartz 2004:98).

Portable reproductions of ancient monuments found in shops become objects of cult display in personal museums or are given as gifts to friends and relatives. The selection of items on offer is extremely wide: maps, posters, tea towels, pens, erasers, mugs, puzzles, all sorts of key-rings, t-shirts, pictures, toys, helmets, swords and, in some cases almost an afterthought, books. At Stonehenge, for example, visitors spend half of their time either buying souvenirs, in restaurants, or in the toilets (Bender 1998:125). A high proportion of tourists are most interested in visiting sites that offer a comfortable visitor centre (Costa 2004:79). It has also been

determined that one third of visitors expect historical sites to have a good set of physical amenities such as shops, restaurants, and toilets (Cameron and Gatewood 2000:116).

The marketing of heritage can be observed in different realms of culture with museums the most susceptible. In the British Museum exhibition on Montezuma, the marketing campaign used the slogan “*Moctezuma, Aztec Ruler*” as a central feature. However, specialists who contributed to the curatorship, and who wrote the exhibition’s catalogue, note that the term “Aztec” has been used incorrectly since the nineteenth century, suggesting that it should be deleted from the catalogue and the exhibition (McEwan and López Luján 2009:21). However, the slogan was reproduced in the marketing campaign with the word Aztec still used, presumably for the sake of the mass market. The correct term, *Mexica*, would not be as recognizable, or indeed, as profitable, for the international market.

Culture heritage, as a product of market, has also been exploited through other forms of representation. On the Christmas gifts web page of the British Museum, the link “Perfumes for her” suggests: “Choose from a range of perfumes inspired by fascinating periods of history. Nenúfan and Pyxis gift set. Perfume fit for a queen-enjoy the sacred scent of Cleopatra and discover a lost fragrance from Pompeii”. It would be naïve for anyone to assume that these perfumes provide a means to buy the past, but using the past in their marketing creates a new perception and representation of the past in the form of contemporary (cf Past Time gift shops).

An extreme case of archaeological commoditization is seen in Light and Sound Shows (*Son-et-lumière*). Many of the most impressive archaeological sites around the world have integrated these displays into their normal touristic offer. These include Abu Simbel in Egypt (MISR-Company *ca* 2006), the Parthenon in Athens (Athens 2009), and Chichén Itzá in Mexico (Yucatán 2008) to name only a few. With some variations, the culture history of the site is told while displays of laser flashes are projected onto the dark surface of the pyramids and palaces (Marlowe 2002).

The success of these shows is evidenced by the thousands of tourists who celebrate the shows as an achievement of technology. In terms of representation, these shows transform the sites into new arenas. Most were once at the core of ancient civilizations in which the electric light did not exist. Their reinvention in modern times confronts the antiquity of the

archaeological remains; they represent the antithesis of antiquity. This commoditization of archaeological sites is changing – and challenging – the conception, management, and interpretation of archaeological heritage. The *Son-et-lumière* shows are the most palpable proof that archaeological sites are deeply engaged in-and-for tourist consumption. Viewed from an economic perspective, the shows are basically designed to duplicate the income obtained by entry fees, allowing the collection not just of a day-fee but a night-fee as well, and spreading an important economic spill-over to the surrounding craft stores, hotels, and restaurants. However, the shows are seen as a theatre of the past, a simulation and the antithesis of antiquity (Dachary and Arnaiz 2009:74; Evans 2005:43). To the public, Light and Night shows might appear as a total misconception of the meaning of ancient civilizations, but on a more profound level, it seems that this is a normal (normal does not mean adequate) process of cultural development. The interesting question is how these new technologies are being incorporated into the way the past is presented. Throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, museums, books, illustrations, and drawings have changed the forms in which the past was communicated to the public. Modernity brought new technologies for research in archaeology; it has also brought new technologies with which to present archaeology to the public.

Some authors have focused on the study of over-representation, in which contradictory elements are abundant in the embodiment of identity (Mortensen 2009:254). A new, assumed identity enforced by the economic power of tourism, has extended over the entire world, in local and indigenous communities, but also in modern societies. In some cases this does not reflect an internal process of development but rather one caused by external factors. John Urry mentions that the seventeenth century disease of nostalgia has been transformed into a contemporary epidemic (Urry 2002:95). Specifically, archaeological tourism has opened a debate about authenticity in the commoditization of the past (Cohen 1988; Cole 2007; McIntosh and Prentice 1999; Smith 2001). For some authors, new ways of representing the past are somehow contradictory or false according to the historical development. However, for others this is a normal transition in which everyone participates in the process of reinvention and transformation.

Another important area of research in the analysis of archaeological tourism is the participation of indigenous people. It has been mentioned above that there is a cultural

transformation in local communities gained through the profits generated by tourism. Indigenous tour guides have demonstrated a surprising interest in learning more about their own culture through the books given to them as gifts by tourists, and by their attendance at workshops and conferences organized by archaeologists and other specialists (Medina 2003:362-363). Interest in accessing ancestral culture is motivated by the commoditization of that culture for tourism. This re-enchantment and re-evaluation is externally driven and has not emerged as a form of cultural expression. A characteristic of archaeological tourism in some developing countries is the co-existence of archaeological sites and indigenous communities. These areas create spaces for highly intricate representations. Here, archaeological tourism has been used as a catalyst for economic resources and collateral support from the government and investors, both formally and informally, to develop local economies. For example, in Honduras, the World Bank has been interested in investing in the surroundings of Copan (Mortensen 2009). In Belize, the government has placed emphasis on the commoditization of Mayan culture, already well-positioned in the cultural market. Mayan architecture, comparable to that of classical antiquity, attracts hunters of romanticism in the past, with its unchanged primitive state, remoteness from civilization, and surroundings of untouched jungle forest. The presence of indigenous communities adds a touch of exoticism and *authenticity*.

In the last decade an increasing amount of research about tourism and archaeology has analyzed its implications in Europe and Asia, but little attention has been paid to the specific case under observation in this research, Mexico. Duke mentions that, given the importance of the past in attracting tourists, the nexus between tourism and the past it is a fruitful area for examining the expansion of the discipline (Duke 2007:121). Tourism nowadays has diversified services, destinations, and attractions. Archaeological sites have not escaped from the technologies of tourism, as they are the most distinctive features of globalisation. If a particular country has a very distinctive archaeological past, technologies of tourism have been very keen to commercially exploit it. Archaeological and historical sites have been heavily exploited by the tourist industry and hold an important place in the imagination of tourists. The reconstruction and preservation of these sites has played a fundamental role in the translation of the archaeological past for the purpose of marketing heritage. In this way we are witnessing the commoditization of the archaeological record and its transformation into material for consumption. In some cases, restoration and preservation of these sites resembles a theatrical

performance of architecture for consumption by a tourist audience. In other cases, archaeological sites are used as backdrops for night-time light-and-sound shows.

Conclusions

The importance of archaeology seems to depend upon the impact it has as a political tool rather than on its contribution to science. The results of archaeological research are generally known by a small number of specialists. The normal process of archaeological research usually involves doing surveys, excavating sites, reburying them again, analyzing objects – mostly fragmented – writing up reports and finally storing objects in museums, universities or institutional storehouses. Whilst most archaeological research follows this pattern, perceptions of archaeology held by the public derive from the way in which the nation uses images of the past, from direct visits to archaeological sites, and from popular culture. The usefulness of archaeology as a political tool is strongly related to nationalism and tourism.

The past has proved to be a flexible tool for ideologies and economy useful to feed the needs of the state and stakeholders. The permanence of archaeology as a field of knowledge has been related to its contribution either to identity-making or to global economies. Tourism and nationalism are two parallel projects in modernity (Kohl 2004:298) and both need the past. Archaeology provides specific icons or sites ready to be used. The past has always been filtered to enhance the values of the nation or to increase visitor numbers and foreign currency.

Despite this, archaeologists have become more aware of the interest of non-archaeology groups, and it has been rightly asserted that the uses of other legitimate interest groups may not always be fully compatible with the interest of archaeologists (Lynott 1997:595). Archaeological objects and interpretations produced by professional archaeologists have often been used by private enterprises and/or government to reproduce certain particular ideas of the past. This has resulted in archaeological heritage becoming an important node of confluence between archaeologists and other interested sectors like nationalism and tourism. The Golden Age of the nation and World Heritage Sites (WHS) are creating a displaced idea of archaeology. In the last decades it has been evident that WHS or Top National Sites (most visited sites) are threatened by activities conducted for and by tourism. The debate concerning the management of these high profile sites represents only the tip of a multilayered discourse within local, national, and international communities. The aim of this doctoral dissertation is to contribute to the analysis of this important debate.

Chapter 2

Post-revolutionary Mexico: a Case Study

The Mexican Revolution (1910-1917) was one of the earliest major armed conflicts in the twentieth century, and the first in Latin America. Its immediate achievement was to overthrow the dictatorship of Porfirio Díaz, who had ruled the country in the last third of the nineteenth century, the period generally known as Porfiriato (1876-1911). However, the Mexican Revolution continued with a series of internal revolts for almost a decade. By 1920 the country was relatively pacified and, through a new nationalistic spirit, a series of major changes and transformations in the political, social, economic, and cultural arenas began (Joseph, et al. 2001; Meyer 2004). It has been argued that the most important of those changes was the so-called *indigenismo* (indian-ness) (Brading 1988:76). Also, as part of this innovative nationalistic impetus, the concept of *mestizaje* (mixed race), which had been an important ideology in the Porfiriato, was re-interpreted by influential intellectuals in the post-revolution period. Interestingly, tourism was also another area which underwent transformations following the revolution. From the early 1920s, governmental interests in developing tourism can be observed (Saragoza 2001). While incipient tourism expanded through organic growth in towns along the Mexico-USA border, in the rest of the country, and mainly in Mexico City, other more structured actions were also of relevance. To analyse the implication of this development, this chapter is organised into three sections: the first provides a summary of nationalism from the Revolution to our days focusing on *indigenismo* and *mestizaje*; the second gives a brief history of tourism, while in the third, a framework of four periods is proposed for the analysis of the relationship between archaeology, nationalism and tourism.

Post-revolutionary nationalism and tourism in archaeology

The Mexican Revolution has been regarded as the cause of a huge transformation in twentieth-century Mexico (Joseph, et al. 2001). The post-revolutionaries created a new political, economic, social, and cultural agenda, setting up one of the most complex cultural nationalist programmes of Latin American, and perhaps of the world. The pre-Hispanic past had a central role in the post-revolution ideology. The nationalistic pantheon that had been created in the late nineteenth century, based on the pre-Hispanic past, was refined in the post-revolution period, keeping most of the symbols but also including a new set of icons. In this context, Gamio's publication, *Forjando Patria* [Forging Patria] (Gamio 1916) had special relevance, blending archaeology and nationalism for the sake of the nation. In this thesis it is considered that post-revolutionary Mexico represents an ideal field of study for investigating the relationship between archaeology, nationalism, and tourism.

The cultural heritage of Mexico is widely known, especially its archaeological sites, which have been an essential component of national identity and tourism throughout modern history. The renowned archaeologist and anthropologist Manuel Gamio was perhaps one of the best placed scholars to synthesise the essential principles in the use of archaeology through the twentieth century. In 1916 and 1922 Gamio published two master-works which would determine the ideological and economic use of archaeological heritage. *Forjando Patria* is one of the few books published by an archaeologist which openly merges nationalism and archaeology. Gamio placed archaeology at the service of the nation, and considered himself to be an extremist patriot (*patriotero hasta el agredismo*) (Gamio 1916:18). This jingoistic spirit still exists in some sectors of Mexican archaeology, where the function of archaeology is considered to be exclusively for the exaltation of nationalism and identity. On the other hand, archaeological sites have also been one of the bastions of the reputation of the Mexican past for tourism and Gamio was one of the first ones to exploit this potential. Then, as nowadays, archaeological sites attracted the attention of a wide range of people. Politicians, travellers, researchers, and tourists were seduced by the powerful attraction of the pre-Hispanic past. Gamio's publication of a guidebook to Teotihuacan (Gamio 1922a) provided interesting insights regarding the important role of archaeology for tourism development. Gamio's publications were to heavily influence the personality of archaeology following the Mexican Revolution.

The Mexican Revolution was an armed movement that, led by Francisco I. Madero, began on November the 20th, 1910. It was a revolt organised to overthrow the dictatorship of Porfirio Díaz. The revolutionary movement included groups of diverse political and social origin such as socialists, liberals, anarchists, populists, and farmers. Although it began as an uprising headed by the elite in the north of the country, it subsequently spread to other sectors and regions until it became a civil war. Madero was elected President in 1911, but the disputes between different factions and groups were far from resolved. These conflicts resulted in the assassination of the most important leaders, including Madero in 1913. Outbreaks of social unrest, led by warlords in the north and south of the country, made the general disagreement even more evident. Social unrest and armed revolts were seen over all country. Conflicts continued for nearly a decade. Although there is no precise date for the end of the revolution, most authors recognise that the fighting began to come to an end with the promulgation of the Mexican National Act of 1917, which is still in force today. This date has been taken as the end of the revolution, though armed uprisings occurred occasionally afterwards (Knight 1985, 1994b; Meyer 2004; Meyer 2008).

Post-revolutionary Mexican tourism has also had a long history. In the 1930s, when tourism was recognised as a possible source of economic growth, institutions for the promotion and management of tourism were first created. The development of infrastructure such as roads, hotels, and restaurants was related to access to national sites. Mexico's participation in national and international fairs to promote the most famous and interesting tourist attractions was established. Natural and cultural sites started to be toured in the South (Yucatán), whilst in the North (Tijuana) other attractions such as brothels and nightclubs were opened to respond to tourist demands. The country was involved in a fledgling tourism, supported by the most diverse individuals, but mainly including both politicians and businessmen. In only a few studies is the importance of tourism to the national consciousness mentioned (see for example Berger 2006). Tourism, at the same time as nationalism, was driven by the post-revolutionary elite who inherited the revolutionary ideology. In this context, the tourist guidebook to Teotihuacan published by Gamio put archaeology into the arena of national and international tourism.

Archaeological cultural heritage was primarily used as fundamental element in the creation of identity and for the strengthening of nationalism. It is true that archaeological heritage was used and promoted in an attempt to follow Gamio's desire of forging a homeland, in which archaeology would contribute to the development and understanding of a Mestizo society, as Mexico was considered to be. Towards the late 1950s, archaeological tourism was institutionalised through a national educational project. Following the example of commoditisation followed at Teotihuacan, other archaeological sites were included in the tourism promoted to the public.

The nationalistic interest based on the ancient heritage has been fused with the promotion of sensuality and leisure, mainly in places such as Acapulco (1950s), and some decades later, in the paradise-like beaches of the Mexican Caribbean (1970s). Archaeological heritage, tourism promotion, beautiful dark skinned women, and tropical fruits can all be observed blended together in a number of posters produced for the ideological promotion of *Lo Mexicano* (the real Mexican), distributed by the Departamento Autónomo de Prensa y Publicidad (DAAP) (Saragoza 2001:94). The complex joining of post-revolutionary nationalism and tourism within archaeology has created very productive relationships. More recently (1990s), the commercial propaganda engine has exploited this symbiosis: the “monumental margaritas” poster of *Tequila Sauza* (Figure 3) summarises the complex process that will be the subject of discussion in this thesis. Nationalism and tourism have each been developed from different, essential aspects, as described in the following sections. A chronological scheme of four periods is also presented in order to show interactions and interjections between tourism, archaeology, and nationalism.

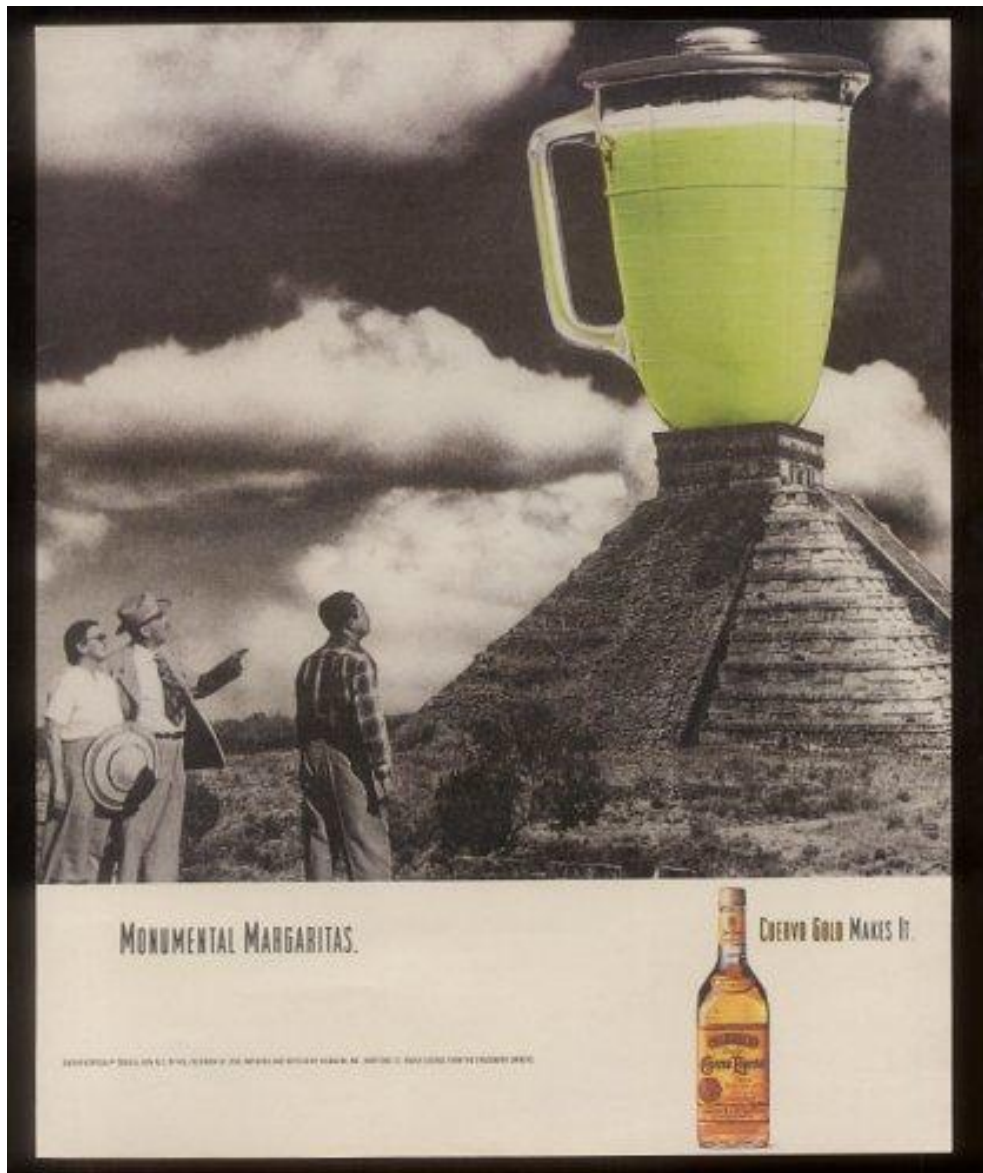


Figure 3. Monumental Margaritas: Commercial advertisement that literally liquefies archaeology, tequila and leisure. The pyramid at the base corresponds to El Castillo of Chichén Itzá (Magazine advertisement of Tequila Sauza in the 1990s).

Mexican nationalism

Nationalism in Mexico has a long history. It is one of the most frequently discussed topics and a vast amount of research has been published (Brading 1973, 1985; Díaz-Andreu 1998; Gutiérrez 2000; Knight 1994b; Monsiváis 1992; Vizcaíno 2002). It has been noted that its main elements emerged from American patriotism during the colonial era (Lomnitz 2001:14). After independence from Spain (1810), Mexico entered into a process of consolidation, which lasted until the late nineteenth century and the emergence of the nation-state. However, Mexican nationalism experienced one of its most prolific periods during the early twentieth century; in fact, it has been fundamental aspect of Mexican culture. The revolutionary elite developed an ideology in which the cultural platform was used for ideological ends and the sustainment of a political party (Pérez 1994). Different cultural movements were supported by the state, including muralism, music, dance, and archaeology, among other many areas. This was seen as an important development, largely created by the most influential intellectuals (see for example compilations of Joseph, et al. 2001; Noriega 1992).

Three works could be considered as the foundation of post-revolutionary Mexican nationalism. The first is a study by Andrés Molina Enríquez, entitled *Los Grandes Problemas Nacionales* [The Great National Problems] (Molina 1909). This work criticised the policy of the Porfiriato. It is considered an important contribution to the formation of the post-revolutionary ideology. This publication was followed by the release of Manuel Gamio's *Forjando Patria* (Gamio 1916). In this book Gamio proposed the creation of citizenship based on a proper understanding, but at the same time, transformation of the indigenous culture and its integration into the mestizo race. Subsequently José Vasconcelos published *La Raza Cosmica* [The Cosmic Race] (Vasconcelos 1945 [1925]). This work proposed that the Americas were the only place in the world where a unique race could emerge due to the mix of ancient pre-Columbian cultures and European culture. The importance of these three publications for the emergence of post-revolutionary Mexican nationalism is discussed in detail below.

In the middle of the twentieth century a new paradigm for nationalism and identity re-activated the discussion. Octavio Paz published *El Laberinto de la Soledad* [The labyrinth of Solitude] (Paz 1959 [1950]). Due to Paz's influence, this critical analysis became a fundamental work for novel interpretations of national identity. Paz developed a psycho-historical analysis of

Mexican culture; it was a fierce criticism of the political establishment but also of the passivity of the ordinary citizens. He pointed out that Mexicans, by putting their fears behind imaginary masks, hid an inferiority complex related to their history of colonisation. The importance of *El Laberinto de la Soledad* lay partly in the severity of its assessment but also in its effect as a call to action. As well as being a political critique, this book showed the importance of analysis for the understanding of the Mexican culture, not only in relation to the nationalist ideology, but also in the development of individual identity. Paz argued that the origins of the Mexican identity were not essentially inherited from the pre-Hispanic cultures, but were a result of the violent interactions between different cultures and religions.

Since the 1960 post-revolutionary nationalism has been criticised for its ideological inertia: useful for the sustainment of a political party but slow in solving national problems. From the early 1980s innovative and critical studies of former interpretations were published, including Roger Bartra's *La Jaula de la Melancolia* [The Cage of Melancholy] (Bartra 1987). This is a critical book that reflects on Mexican culture, nationalism and identity. For Bartra, Mexican national character is an imaginary construction of intellectuals, as opposed to Paz, who considers that the national character is not a problem of psychology but of political order. Néstor García Canclini, in his book *Culturas Híbridas. Estrategias para Entrar y Salir de la Modernidad* [Hybrid Cultures. Strategies for Entering and Leaving Modernity] (García Canclini 2001 [1990]) emphasises the process of hybridisation faced by cultures in their transition from tradition to modernity. Unlike those previously mentioned, this study focuses not only on Mexico, but also on two other Latin American countries, Argentina and Brazil. It is a key publication about the paradoxes and complexities of a national culture and its intersections with tradition and modernity. Guillermo Bonfil Batalla published *Mexico Profundo* [Deep Mexico] (Bonfil Batalla 1996 [1991]), a work which presents an interesting critique of Mexican anthropology and its servitude to the political apparatus. Bonfil proposes creating a new project of nationalism by incorporating the heritage of two Mexicos. An even more critical study is published by Claudio Lomnitz, entitled *Exits from the Labyrinth* (Lomnitz 1992). Lomnitz presents a study of the national ideology and its relationship with rural communities, the charisma of the politicians, and racial ideology. This work applies anthropological research tools to the study of the national culture.

These publications are the most influential to reflect the complexity of the history of Mexican nationalism. These studies show that Mexican nationalism has been developed as a political ideology that has sustained the nation-state. In this ideology an ancient mythology has been transformed in the antecedent of the modern nation as well as strengthening a widespread feeling of communion and identity, in similar ways to other parts of the world. However, there are a number of elements that make Mexican nationalism different and give it a unique character: post-revolutionary Mexican nationalism stands out because its foundations are based on the policy of the *indigenismo* and the ideology of *mestizaje*.

Indigenismo

Indigenismo can be understood as a state policy through which the State attempted to integrate indigenous groups within national development (Brading 1988; Comas 1953; Doremus 2001; Patterson 1995; Robins 1994; Sámano 2004; Villoro 1979). *Indigenismo* has formed an integral part of Mexican political culture, being fundamental to strategic plans (five-year plans that establish the main economic lines to be followed by the Mexican state). For *indigenismo*, native inheritance, alive and dead, present and past, was conceived as part of a same historical process. In this it contrasted with, the Porfiriato, in which the pre-Hispanic past was an object of devotion and living indigenous communities were ignored. *Indigenistas* did not have a single viewpoint, or even similar methods of action or the same conceptualisation of the Indian (Dawson 1998:282). The contribution of the *Indigenistas* (i.e. those following the ideology of *indigenismo*) was spread thorough a vast range of political and cultural actions. Art, written texts, music, mural painting, and the restoration of archaeological sites were supported by the revolutionary government with a very nationalistic character from 1920 to 1940 (Bonfil Batalla 1996 [1991]:55). *Indigenismo* sought the creation of a national history in which the living indigenous population and their pre-Hispanic heritage were fundamental in the creation of identity.

The role of *indigenismo* as a means for the integration of Indians was well received for several decades (Sámano 2004:145). However, in the 1960s a radical opposition movement emerged. It was argued that the *indigenismo* policies created a number of Indian stereotypes that fitted the perception of the nation about what an Indian should be; the presence of Indians was visible in the public sphere but they had no autonomy under State control (Bonfil Batalla 1996

[1991]:53). However the real problems remained unsolved. Critics of *Indigenismo* have stated that this ideological stance had never really sought the integration of indigenous peoples, but rather their disappearance or absorption. Roger Bartra correctly argues that the official *Indigenista* policy has not been detached from the interests of the ruling classes, and that those interests are the best expression of its policy (Bartra 1975:472). In an attempt to educate and westernise the Indian, the ultimate and paradoxical goal of *indigenismo* was the destruction of native culture that had emerged during the colonial period (Bonfil Batalla 1996 [1991]:116; Brading 1988:88).

Despite critiques received since the 1960s, *indigenismo* has been maintained as a state policy up to the year 2000. However, since the 1980s the government has shown less interest in *indigenismo*, and has focused more on integration into a globalised economy (Sámano 2004:150). This transformation was strengthened by the indigenous uprising in Chiapas in 1994, which claimed real participation in the national life and respect for their Indian condition (rejecting the stereotypes of Indians). Eventually, with the fall of the PRI (the ruling party since the end of the revolution) in the 2000, the *indigenismo* policy began to slowly disappear from the political agenda (for PAN, the current ruling party, the post-revolutionary platform does not seem relevant at all). Contemporary criticism has focused on the argument that, through traditional *indigenismo* the country's multicultural diversity has not been recognised, i.e., that being indigenous, not all Indians are equal. There are currently more than 62 indigenous languages spoken in Mexico, an indication of the ethnic diversity of the country (Navarrete 2008:8). Criticism by indigenous communities has been joined by other social sectors, brilliantly termed the Deep Mexico (Bonfil Batalla 1996 [1991]), including peasants and marginalised urban people in search of a more inclusive nationalism.

Mestizaje

As many historians have shown, the concept of mestizaje has been a key theme in studies on identity and nationalism (Alonso 2004:459; Chorba 2004:47). The history of the concept itself is difficult and obscure, and it has not necessarily always been positive. In fact, during the colonial period, the Mestizo population was socially degraded (González 1968:35). However, by the nineteenth century the Mestizo race began to have positive connotations. It was characterised as (undoubtedly gender-biased) a virile and powerful mix of the Spanish with the Indian. Vicente

Riva Palacio was one of intellectuals that empowered the idea of mestizaje in the Porfiriato. In his master work, *México a Través de los Siglos* [Mexico Throughout the Centuries] (Riva Palacio 1884-1889), Riva Palacio argues that the mestizos were the unique and outstanding result of the crossing of two cultural traditions. Riva Palacio considered that over time the grouping of families, peoples and races, joined by an accident of history during the colonial period, built a special society. According to him the Mestizo did not represent either the Spanish conquerors or Native Americans, but an original emergent group who had inherited virtues and vices, glories and betrayals of both (Riva Palacio 1886:VIII).

These ideas would be re-interpreted by Andrés Molina Enríquez who, in 1909, published his work the *Los Grandes Problemas Nacionales* [The Great National Problems] (Molina 1909), in which he sketched what Basave has later called mestizofilia (Basave 1992a:252-253; 1992b:13), i.e. the doctrine of concepts and practices that would serve as the basis for the nation and nationalism and which would be later adopted by other intellectuals. Andrés Molina argued that the indigenous problem (“backwardness”) should be resolved through biological mestizaje. For Molina mixture of indigenous peoples with the whites would produce a better race. This idea was, for much of the twentieth century, a key aspect of the *indigenistas* position. Manuel Gamio (1916, 1922) took his idea of mestizaje from Molina. For Gamio, the mixture of races and cultures forged and homogenised different Indian groups; it contributed to the emergence of a powerful country and would finally reach the supreme ideal of a homogeneous Mexican nation (Gamio 1916:14). José Vasconcelos was another intellectual pillar of the post-revolutionary *indigenismo*, although he introduced the idea of racial mixing at a universal level. His proposal was that of a “cosmic” race in which traditional Western cultures would provide a model to solve the problem of the indigenous peoples. According to Vasconcelos, through a western model of education, indigenous peoples would be intellectual and physically stronger (Vasconcelos 1945 [1925]).

Mestizaje has been also been subjected to criticism. The idea that just two unique groups participated in the mestizaje was idealistic. Mesoamerica, at the time of the conquest, was not biologically homogeneous; various ethnic groups were present in different regions. Later, with the importation of African slaves, the biological and cultural mixing included a number of very different groups. Criticism against mestizaje has been formulated in a similar vein to that against

indigenismo. Mestizaje has been identified as a policy of discrimination, supporting a standpoint of superiority. Indeed it has been stated that mestizaje never has been a biological reality or a complementary cultural exchange but an ideology of the state (Gutiérrez 1998:298). One of the more severe critics describes mestizaje as the practice of ethnocide conducted by the State (Bonfil Batalla 1996 [1991]:24). The mystification of the Mestizo is romantic and idealised. Nevertheless Molina's mestizofilia is considered one of the pillars of post-revolutionary Mexico, and even with its inherent contradictions, it has remained present until today. Mestizofilia refers to the set of conceptualisations, practices, and actions that have arisen from the study and practice of the phenomenon of mestizaje. Some authors have recognised the usefulness of the term (Chorba 2007:2; Stern 2000:60), and in the present research it will be used with this context.

Tourism: from gambling to a national priority

Tourism has played an important role in the Mexican economy and will surely continue to play an important role in future strategic plans (Clancy 2001:129). The importance of tourism is due to a number of reasons. Along with oil and manufacturing, it is considered to have a significant role in attracting foreign currency, and it is the third largest producer of foreign trade. Tourism is an important source of employment in that it can absorb a high number of skilled and semi-skilled workers. Mexico also has an enormous variety of cultural and natural resources that have been exploited as tourist attractions (SECTUR 2007). An additional factor which often goes unremarked is its proximity to United States, one of the top spenders on tourism, which has increased international attention on Mexico. The rise of tourism in the national context was promoted by the same elites who created the post-revolutionary nationalism. It has been observed that the genesis of tourism lies in the period from 1928 to 1946, after which it becomes a genuine national industry; the institutionalisation of tourism was a product of relations between private entrepreneurs and the institutions of the Government (Berger 2006:26).

In the emerging days of tourism the potential for attracting foreign currency was associated with, and stimulated by, the proximity of the United States. The prohibitions on selling alcohol in that country in the 1920s led indirectly to visits by "tourists" to border cities like Tijuana, where North Americans could buy alcohol and gamble, and where they supported

emerging sex tourism and prostitution (Lorey 1991:310; Zenteno 1995:109). In addition to this incipient and marginal tourism, an elite form developed, mostly associated with the wealthy who could afford long trips by train, boat, or carriage, who mainly visited Mexico City and its surroundings. At that time tourism lacked infrastructure and those involved in hospitality received no training. There was poor service in hotels and limited roads. The participation of Mexico in the International Fair held at Rio de Janeiro in 1922 was highly relevant, the theme being the modernisation of cities, sanitation, and tourism (ST 2005:22-26; Tenorio 1996b:200 ss). The Mexican government began to invest in infrastructure in the 1930s. Electricity, water, and health services were introduced to increase the standard of living of the population, but also to provide tourist services. It is also important to note that in 1930 the National Commission of Tourism was created. This shows again the government's intention to channel the resources of tourism by its institutionalisation (ST 2005; Torruco 1988).

The development and evolution of tourism after 1950s runs parallel to the history of Acapulco, a major sun and beach destination located on the Pacific coast. It has been recognised that its origins as a resort can be traced from the early 1920s with the construction of the Taxco-Acapulco road (1927) joining the Cuernavaca-Mexico City road (Ramírez 1987:482). Acapulco flourished from 1955 to 1971. This peak is related to the emerging development of commercial aviation (1950), but also with the post-war period, which undoubtedly marked an acceleration of mass tourism (Saragoza 2001:103). Acapulco became the model of a sun and beach tourism resort for national and international audiences. During this period interest in culture heritage was reduced, the focus being on romantic, sensual, and leisure settings. Saragoza mentions that, after the 1950s, the promotion of Acapulco was undertaken using a modern style of advertising, as opposed to the traditional heritage approach. He mentions that, by the 1940s, the tourist promotion of Mexico underwent a transition from essentialist cultural depiction to one less reliant on the appeal of authenticity, monumentality, and folklore. Pyramids and cathedrals shared the stage with golf courses and sport fishing, as representation of the country became largely codified, its formulas refined, and its scripts well structured (Saragoza 2001:108).

It is worth mentioning that, in addition to politicians, artists participated in the parallel projects of nationalism and tourism. For example, Francisco Eppens Helguera (1913-1990) was a Mexican artist known for his paintings, murals, and sculptures of distinctly Mexican images and

scenes. He also achieved international fame for his award winning modern designs for Mexican postage stamps (1935–1953), among them the series *Architecture and Archaeology* (see Chapter 4). Some of his paintings were also published as promotional tourism posters in 1940, supported by the Department of Tourism of Mexican Government (Berger 2006:99). Additionally, in 1968 Eppens redesigned the Mexican coat of arms, still used today on official government documents, on coins, and on the national flag.

At the end of the 1960s the Mexican Government began to take a major interest in the development of tourism (Clancy 2001:131). A new strategy in the creation of tourist destinations was introduced. After computational analysis (innovative for its time), Cancun on the Caribbean coast was chosen to be one of the first Integrally Planned Centres (ICP) (Hiernaux 1988:109; Torres and Momsen 2005:315). It was created through a new concept of planned tourism development that was based on the building of new hotels and infrastructure around unspoilt beaches. Cancun, in the Yucatan peninsula, became the first master-planned resort. Its first four hotels began to operate in 1972. In less than a decade Cancun became one of the main tourist destinations in the country, mainly for foreign tourists who generally arrived by flight. After this successful experience, the Government created similar developments on the shores of the Pacific at Loreto, Los Cabos, and Ixtapa y Huatulco. They are considered to be the basis of the sustainment of tourism in the last four decades (Clancy 2001:132-135).

The early 1980s saw major changes to the tourism industry. The economic reforms promoted by incipient neoliberalism caused the withdrawal of public funds from several industries, including tourism. This occasioned a greater reliance on national and international private investors. Quality controls declined in the search for higher profits. The social and environmental costs of tourism began to manifest themselves in more obvious ways. Successful traditional tourist beaches such as Acapulco experienced high concentrations of contamination (Ramírez 1987:495). Tourism ceased to be a panacea and began to be a contested issue with advocates and detractors everywhere. The growth of workers in the industry slowed, and wages and benefits for the vast majority of people were reduced. The holiday season created temporary employment but without continuity, and marginal settlements appeared near the new luxury developments, creating a negative image; for every new tourist development there generally appeared a new, unofficial settlement.

Mexican tourism has relied heavily on sun and sand destinations, largely because of the impact of the Integrally Planned Centre (a CIP, acronym in Spanish, is an area of major tourist development) (currently there are five in the whole of Mexico). However other programs have recently been developed to promote broader types of tourism under the name of “alternative tourism”. Among these are rural tourism, adventure tourism, and ecotourism, among other forms (SECTUR 2007:16). The alleged advantage of this alternative tourism is that it requires less investment and is supposedly oriented and managed for the benefits of local communities. Archaeological tourism has been another type of tourism that has increased since the 1970s. As it will be mentioned in Chapters 5 and 6, after the 1970s, there was a geographical and cultural displacement within archaeological tourism. With the proliferation of hotels in Cancun, the Mayan area represented an ideal attraction, and the magnificent Mayan temples added a touch of mystery and antiquity to idyllic blue beaches. In this context, archaeological tourism took a stunning turn, becoming part of the international world on a massive scale, something that had not happened in previous decades.

It is true that today the majority of tourism in the Mexico is associated with the sun and beach destinations of the CIPs. However, culture heritage tourism has been emerging as an important part of current tourism. It has been proposed that new types of tourism should be opened, such as ecotourism, alternative tourism, and an increasingly important cultural tourism. Much of these small-scale forms of tourism do not require multibillion-dollar investments. However, these forms of alternative tourism (as opposed to sun and beach) grow exponentially and, due to fragmentation, there is often no proper policy for management and protection of cultural and natural resources. Tourism in Mexico continues to have a predominant role but was the cause of serious unresolved problems at both regional and federal levels. As a country dependent on tourism, Mexico supports unfair investments, which are often foreign or related to local political oligarchies. I quote below two extreme cases where tourism as a national priority clashes with the interests of different groups involved in archaeological heritage.

During September 2008 a group of local people, with the agreement of their Community Council, invaded the archaeological site of Chincultik, Chiapas (a Mayan site located in southern Mexico). They argued that INAH had allowed this site to fall into a deplorable condition. For some days local people controlled public access to the site, retaining the entrance fees as their

income. Negotiations to solve the problem were carried out between INAH and protestors, but on October 3rd, the police were suddenly brought in to remove them from Chincultik against their will. In the aftermath, the police went into Ejido (a piece of land farmed communally under a system supported by the state) named Miguel Hidalgo where the protestors lived. This provoked a violent response and, in a turbulent scene, the people disarmed and kidnapped 70 policemen. As a result the police department organised a rescue operation to free them. This generated further turmoil resulting in six protestors being killed by policemen and many others injured (Henríquez 2008).

On the other hand, on 4th October 2008, the tenor singer Plácido Domingo presented an opera concert in Chichén Itzá, Yucatán to celebrate the twentieth anniversary of Chichén Itzá being declared a World Heritage Site by UNESCO. An illuminated night show (*son et lumiere*) was displayed on the main pyramid of the site, called El Castillo. This event initially generated strong disagreement between the State Government of Yucatan, which was keen to organise the concert, and the INAH who originally refused permission. Eventually, the Yucatan government amended the original plans and the concert was successfully celebrated with INAH's consent. Eight thousand people enjoyed the music in gentle rain and a warm atmosphere (Cruz and Boffil 2008).

In Latin America, Mexico has no competitor for the number of air arrivals or for the revenues of foreign exchange produced by tourism. This, however, implies a paradox. Today tourism is the second largest source of employment for Mexicans, beaten only by agriculture. The terrorist attacks of 2001 in the United States and the hurricanes that occurred on the Mexican coast, for example in 2005 (Wilma), coupled with health crises such as the influenza virus of 2009, have shown the fragility of the Mexican economic dependence on tourism. For example, on the 26th of May 2009, almost 4 weeks after the swine flu outbreak was diagnosed, the Mexican president launched the campaign "Vive México" in order to re-activate the tourism industry which was one of the most economically devastated after the outbreak. A national funding of 55 million GBP (1,200 million Mexican pesos) was allocated for this campaign. The Mexican president was supported by the Minister of Tourism, but also by show business personalities such as actors, rock stars, musicians, writers, sportsmen, wrestlers, and boxers, in addition to politicians and businessmen. The president encouraged them all to spread the word

that Mexico is a safe and unique place to visit. The campaign advocated eradicating the prejudice that Mexico was the place to get infected by swine flu. The campaign also aimed to recover lost jobs relating to tourism. The official estimation of jobs lost as a result of the outbreak is around 100,000. Although the campaign had an international target, there was also a keen desire to promote national tourism (Herrera 2009; ST 2009). Even with the problems created by the swine flu outbreak, in recent decades Mexico has appeared in the list of the most visited countries in the world. In 2010 it was located in tenth place with more than 22 million international visitors (UNWTO 2011:6).

A diachronic view of archaeology, nationalism and tourism

This thesis seeks to understand the effect that nationalism and tourism have had on the management and presentation of archaeological heritage in the post-revolution era, with a focus on the period from 1906 to 2006. The development of this relationship allows us to divide this time span into four periods. An initial stage (1909-1934) is characterised by post-revolutionary idealism, in which archaeology and *indigenismo* an essential component of nation-building and of the emerging business of tourism. A second phase (1940-1964) is marked by the consolidation of post-revolutionary nationalism through *indigenismo* policies, when archaeology became increasingly important for promoting educational tourism. In the third period (1964-1982) there was severe criticism of the nationalistic agenda and archaeological heritage became more openly commoditised in order to fulfil the needs of international tourism. Finally, in the last period (1982-2006) the post-revolutionary nationalist platform was still being criticised but the PRI political party, which had ruled the country for over seventy years, was defeated in presidential elections by the conservative PAN (2000). In this most recent period archaeology has been exploited in political propaganda by politicians and has also been an important attraction for tourists.

***Indigenismo* and archaeology (1909-1934)**

This first period was dominated by a romantic nationalism based on the post-revolutionary model of merging archaeology, nationalism, *indigenismo*, and mestizaje. Manuel Gamio was its main proponent but he did not work alone, nor were his ideas the result of individual thought and action. His influence should therefore be understood in relation to a number of factors. In addition to the socio-political context, Gamio was the first Mexican archaeologist professionally trained abroad (University of Columbia, 1909-1911). His proposal to include archaeology as part of anthropology was the result of his training and contacts with American archaeology, but mainly represented the ideas of the anthropologist Franz Boas who mentored Gamio while he was a student at the International School of American Archaeology and Ethnology (Strug 1986:161). Gamio's work as a whole has been considered crucial in the history of archaeology; indeed he has been named the Father of Mexican Anthropology (Aguirre Beltrán 1986:148). His influence on Mexican anthropology has been the subject of multiple

studies (Adams 1960; Matos Moctezuma 1983; Matos Moctezuma 1986; González Gamio 1987; Brading 1988; Rutsch 2001; Castañeda 2003; Schávelzon 2004).

In the 1920s the influence that Gamio exerted on Mexican anthropology was at its peak; he had a strong influence on archaeology for about a decade, his contributions being more in terms of *indigenismo*. Gamio was the author of two influential works, the first being *Forjando Patria* (1916), probably the only overtly pro-nationalist work known to be written by an academic archaeologist. The second, his masterpiece *La Población del Valle de Teotihuacan* [The Population of the Valley of Teotihuacan] (Gamio 1922b) put into practice his theoretical vision of an anthropological archaeology, which has been widely adopted as a model (Matos Moctezuma 1986:12). The fundamental premise was the archaeological-anthropological proposal, in which studies of the past would help resolve current problems. Of these two publications *Forjando Patria* relates more closely to the objectives of the present research. I will therefore focus on some passages of *Forjando Patria* that clearly reflect the concept of archaeology as a tool for the nation.

Gamio was a romantic nationalist (Brading 1988:82). Much of *Forjando Patria* was written in poetic prose narrative, for example a section devoted to the redemption of the Indian race, described by Gamio as the defenceless race. In his criticism of the “backwardness” of the Indians he writes “poor and suffering [Indian] race, in your soul are hidden the strength of that courageous taramara who chops cedars in the mountains, the exquisite strength of the divine Teotihuacan, the sagacity of the Taxcallan family, the indomitable courage of the bloody Mexica. Why do not you stand up, proud of your legend and show the world your Indian ancestry?” (Gamio 1916:32).

One of the proposals in the post-revolutionary *indigenismo* was the vindication of indigenous cultures through a principle of cultural relativism. Gamio established a cultural principle of equality between different cultural ethnics, present or past, whether Indian or European. He appealed to the human capacity for adaptation and learning at an early stage of life but considered that these changes would operate best through the education of isolated individuals rather than in societies already formed. The aim of westernising the Indian, according to Gamio, was a labour that did not sit well with governors or sociologists. The anthropologist and the ethnologist in particular were the most appropriate professionals, being free of prejudices, to

understand the thoughts of the Indian and then integrate them into the national society (Gamio 1916:39).

Gamio considered that archaeology was a component of that body of knowledge concerned with humanity and called anthropology. In his interpretation, anthropology described people in three ways: physical type, language, and culture or civilisation, the last of these corresponding to archaeology. For Gamio, Mexican archaeology was the body of knowledge concerning pre-Hispanic civilisations. In pursuit of a national culture, Gamio affirmed that the fusion of races, convergence, cultural and linguistic unification, and economic balance should contribute to the characteristics of the Mexican population, so that it constituted and embodied a powerful country and a coherent and defined nationality (Gamio 1916: 104-105, 325).

Consolidation of *Indigenismo* and emergent tourism (1934-1958)

During this period archaeology became important to the government. Interestingly, the creation of national institutions reinforced identity and feelings of romantic nationalism. In 1940 Mexico hosted the *Primer Congreso Indigenista Interamericano* [First Inter-American Indigenist Congress] in Pátzcuaro, where president Lázaro Cárdenas (1934-1940) stated his purpose to “Mexicanize the Indian” (Morris 1999:375). The interest in the “Indian problem” also led to the creation of the IIA, the Instituto Indigenista Interamericano [Inter-American Indigenist Institute] (1942) and the INI, the Instituto Nacional Indigenista [Indigenist National Institute] (1947). *Indigenismo* was an important policy mainly promoted by the social reform of President Cardenas who was the architect of the movement. He favoured agriculture rather than industry, stimulated agrarian reform, ordered the creation of Confederacion Nacional de Campesinos (composed primarily of Indians), and provided funds to enable indigenous people to purchase agricultural equipment (Doremus 2001:375-376). *Indigenismo* formed an integral part of the state’s economic development plans. The *Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia*, or INAH, was born during this euphoria of post-revolutionary institutionalisation.

The foundation of INAH was a project that merged two important institutions in Mexico: The Department of Archaeological, Historic and Artistic Monuments and the National Museum of Archaeology, History and Ethnography (Olivé 2003 [1988]:33). INAH was created for the

protection, conservation, and research of archaeological heritage. Since then INAH has created an enormous bureaucracy associated with the state. INAH is the official institution responsible for overseeing all archaeological activities. This includes permits for exploration, excavation, and monitoring of research projects. INAH also handles the administration and management of archaeological sites open to the public. The history of INAH is so complex that a vast literature has been published (Braniff, et al. 1983; Olivé 2003 [1988]; Olivé and Cottom 2003 [1988]).

It is interesting to note that precisely at the end of Cárdenas presidency an unthinkable changed came about. Rather than linking the nation-building project with the ideological proposals of the previous period (*mestizaje*, *indigenismo*, and archaeology), this institution-building (DAAI – the Department of Indigenous Affairs – , III, INI, INAH) created a gap. Through its institutionalisation, in addition to creating a tool for *indigenismo*, archaeology also became monopolised. As a result, one of the elements that characterized nineteenth-century Mexican nationalism emerged again, that is to say the celebration of the dead past while ignoring the living indigenous people. It is from this period that the archaeological profession has provided a bridge between the modern nation and the pre-Hispanic past. Ironically the creation of the INI and INAH ended Gamio's vision of linking archaeology, *indigenismo*, and *mestizaje* by allowing the government an absolute control of the archaeological resources (Rodríguez 1996:89).

Subsequent governments after the 1940s sought industrial development. For example, Mexican President Miguel Alemán's period in office (1946-1952) was marked by an interest in industrial development, irrigation, and agriculture, especially infrastructure. The railways grew, roads were paved, and a number of schools including the National Autonomous University of Mexico (UNAM) were built. Alemán expanded the international presence of Mexico: he was the first Mexican president to visit the United States and the first non-military president since the end of the revolution. He continued to support the *braceros* program (which was an agreement between Mexico and United States to contract temporary labours from Mexico in the 1940s) and signed the peace treaty for Mexico after the Second World War. He presided over the first post-war administration when the flow of tourists intensified. This new mobility was exploited by the administration. Alemán has been celebrated as the president who built modern Mexico into a tourist destination. He contributed to the emergence of the tourism industry, especially in

Acapulco, which remains one of the main tourist destinations. However, the administration was accused of corruption and of being associated with the interests of capitalism rather than of social reform (Krauze 1997:122). Some years later, in 1961, Alemán would be appointed president of the National Tourism Council.

Archaeology during this period was dominated by scientific contributions and findings, for example, one of the most outstanding achievements was the definition of Mesoamerica (Kirchhoff 1960 [1943]). This definition grouped cultural traits in a region extending from central Mexico to Central America. Although it was originally proposed as a means to describe cultural traits of the sixteenth century, the concept of Mesoamerica was applied extensively in archaeology for more remote periods. The concept of Mesoamerica has been the subject of criticism (García Mora 2009 [2000]; López 2009 [2000]; Rodríguez 2009 [2000]); however, although its original formulation has changed substantially, and despite the fact that it is not relevant to pre-Hispanic developments, it has remained in use until the present day. Discoveries such as Tomb Number Seven at Monte Alban, in Oaxaca (1932) or the Tomb of Pakal in Palenque, Chiapas (1952) were recognised internationally and gave Mesoamerican archaeology its own personality. These discoveries might seem innocuous, but in addition to their contribution to science, they were subsequently used politically, and it has been argued that Mexican archaeology has depended on such events for funding: the more spectacular the discovery the better economic resources they were able to obtain for research (Vázquez 1996:214 ss).

Increasing tourism and criticism of *indigenismo* (1958-1982)

In the third period (1958-1982) the state monopolised the role of archaeology for political interests, and archaeological heritage underwent a huge transformation. The commencement of major archaeological projects at the national level was dependent on decisions made by the president, rather than on academic principles, and researchers had to adapt to the needs of the State in this new "circumstantial archaeology" (*arqueología coyuntural*) (Morelos, et al. 1991:15-28), which became more evident after 1958 (Rodríguez 1996:91; 2004:30). In addition, the rest of national archaeology was usually governed by the six-year presidential period in office and resources were allocated within that period (regardless of academic goals).

From the 1960s onwards there were profound changes regarding cultural resource management, for example the creation of the National Museum of Anthropology (MNA after its Spanish name, Museo Nacional de Antropología) (opened in 1964). The MNA was designed to represent pre-Hispanic cultures on the first floor and contemporary indigenous ones on the second, (Ramírez Vázquez 2004). Despite its novelty the museum has been considered as a reproduction of a former one built in 1825, and contains a strong component of the nineteenth century nationalist point of view (Morales Moreno 1994:183). It was the most ambitious museum project of the twentieth century in Latin America and has been celebrated by the nation. However, the whole concept of the Museum has been critiqued, especially with regard to the layout of the Mexica culture which is displayed almost apologetically (Paz 1970:150 ss) : the Stone of the Sun is positioned as the most important object in the museum and is elevated to the category of “symbol of the nation” (see Chapter 5). According to Ignacio Bernal, *indigenismo* was neither anthropology nor science; it was an action for the resolution of Indian problems in which both individuals and government were interested in the study and destiny of these last heirs of an ancient civilisation. Bernal points out that the construction of the National Museum of Anthropology was a genuine product of *indigenismo* (Bernal 1966:322).

The National Anthropology Museum has been highlighted as a successful achievement of the *indigenismo* policy, it was considered to be the best and the most modern museum in Latin America. However, since it was opened it has been criticised for allowing the re-emergence the of old values of porfirism and *indigenismo* (see criticism in Bonfil Batalla 1996 [1991]:53-57; Morales Moreno 2007:35). The monumentality of archaeological objects has been used, then and now, as a metaphor for the monumentality of the nation. Likewise, the Stone of the Sun has continued to represent the golden era of nationalism, not only ideologically, but also in the architectural composition of the museum which gives the Stone of the Sun a privileged place in the Mexica room. The Mexica culture is defined as the golden age, and is continuously portrayed as the prototype of pre-Hispanic cultures. Although this culture was the most recent to develop in Mesoamerica, it lasted for a short period of time compared, for example, to the Olmecs.

The year 1968 had profound implications for Mexican culture. Two occurrences have been remarked upon as causing fundamental changes (Rodríguez Kuri 1998). Firstly, the killing of unarmed students in Tlatelolco denied the country entry to a more participatory democratic

era. This resulted in the maintenance in power of an authoritarian and repressive cabinet. Secondly, the organisation of the Olympic Games boosted the country to a new international order in which the economy and mass tourism were especially relevant. More importantly for this research, 1968 marked an interesting transition in the relationship between nationalism and archaeology, and archaeology and tourism. The 1968 Olympic Games were the main catalyst in a new relationship between tourism and nationalism and provoked a deep transformation in the management of heritage (Brewster and Brewster 2010; Brewster 2004, 2009).

The tourism era (1982-2006)

Since the early 1980s Mexico has embarked on a process of global economic development which has changed the direction and uses of nationalism. While nation-states arose with the need to celebrate their differences and create borders, globalisation has led to the homogenisation of certain cultural patterns. The technological revolution created by the internet is one of the most obvious examples. The ways in which this global culture affects national or local idiosyncrasies remains an issue of debate which does not seem to have an immediate response. As mentioned, Mexico has been dependent on tourism in the market economy, and part of the post-1980 policy has focused on the promotion of the country in order to attract foreign currency. The important need to generate employment through tourism rapidly overshadowed debates about *indigenismo* and mestizaje, and the emergent neoliberal government directed resources into the promotion of tourism.

The controversial elections of 1988 (Meyer 2008:181-185) meant that the country continued along the route of even more accelerated globalisation. There was a presidential change from a moderate economic free market to an open neoliberalism. This presidential change had a significant consequence for archaeology. New president Carlos Salinas de Gortari (g. 1988-1994) was personally committed to archaeology. However, his interest was in promoting tourism rather than nationalism. The commoditisation of archaeology since the 1968 Olympic Games would have a major transformation in this period with the formalisation of the marketing of Mexican archaeological sites. UNESCO bestowed World Heritage status on Teotihuacan and thus began a new period in archaeology tourism. The importance of the UNESCO award is demonstrated by the fact that Mexico has subsequently sought the

nomination of additional sites (there are eleven World Heritage sites in Mexico as of 2011) (WHC 2008).

Salinas de Gortari's government clearly demonstrated "circumstantial archaeology" when a special fund for the study of 14 archaeological sites, known as *Special Archaeological Projects*, was created. The fundamental criteria for the inclusion of sites were either their previous UNESCO nomination or their monumentality. It has been observed that from the time of the Spanish king Charles I (r. 1516-1558, also known as the Emperor Charles V), during the Spanish colonisation, little money had been invested in archaeology and in its promotion through advertising. However, despite the interest shown public by the Government, funding was not made available for the investigation of sites, but for the provision of adequate facilities for public visitation; the restoration of monuments and the building of facilities for tourists were included as primary objectives. The Special Archaeological Projects have been criticised for having a manifestly political origin (Rodríguez 1996:101).

Although proponents of nationalism have not continued to use archaeology for ideological purposes, the element of modern tourism that has arisen since the late 1980s and accelerated in the 1990s has introduced a more economic purpose. In recent decades there can be seen a strong interest in the de-nationalisation of archaeological heritage (as mentioned INAH holds the governmental monopoly), especially after the PAN party won the presidential elections in the year 2000. Members of this political party, in clear rejection of the post-revolutionary platform largely supported by the PRI, proposed to the Mexican Congress a series of changes to modify archaeological legislation that would indirectly promote the privatisation of archaeological sites (McGuire 2008:161). At the same time, the legitimacy of the possession of ruins by the State has been questioned. Archaeological sites have been the subject of legal battles between entrepreneurs and the nation. In one case in particular, the State has lost the right to legal ownership of land on which archaeological sites are located and, during some battles in the Court, the State could not claim the legitimate ownership of Chichén Itzá (as discussed in Chapter 6).

Over the past century there has been complex management of archaeological sites managed by the government. For example, by 1912, Teotihuacan was officially recognised as the only archaeological site open to the public, whilst by 1962 the number had increased to 88 sites

(Vázquez 1996:106). Since 1980 there has been a steady increase in the opening of archaeological sites (INEGI 2004:162-163). Currently, 180 sites have officially been opened, and a handful of others are in process at the time of writing. This period ends with the ambivalence of the creation of mass tourism, oriented to monumental archaeology. For example, in 2004 the numbers of site visits by tourists to archaeological sites throughout the country is recorded as 10,362,100. It is interesting to notice that 55% of these visitors were concentrated at only five sites (all declared WHS), while 45% were received at the remaining 167 sites open to the public. A problem hidden by these numbers is a lack of communication between advocates of archaeology for educational purposes and proponents of other archaeology for mass consumption by tourists (as discussed in Chapter 8). Whatever the case, it is right to remember that today, both tourism and nationalism are dominant forces in the political, economic, and cultural field, and while nations and the need for holidays exist, archaeology will continue to be used by one or the other. The study of this phenomenon opens an important new field of research.

Conclusions

This chapter has focused on the ways in which the Mexican Government of the post-revolutionary period has used archaeological heritage to strengthen identity and to promote tourism. This has had the result that both nationalism and tourism have determined the model through which archaeology has been managed during the last century. This does not mean that these are the only enterprises served by archaeology; in fact, Mexican archaeology has contributed to the understanding of American native civilisations. A large corpus of research has been published that shows the importance of Mesoamerica as one of the few areas in the world in which ancient cultures developed complex societies. However, in addition to these scientific contributions, archaeology has been used in a systematic way for the purposes of politics and propaganda. In this thesis I will discuss the relationship between archaeology and the dominant political system; further, I will submit that archaeology has been "very profitable" both for the generation of nationalist policies and for the promotion of tourism.

Throughout the twentieth century archaeological heritage has been used by the nation-state as a way of strengthening identity and in nation building. *Indigenismo* has been the political platform of post-revolutionary Mexican culture, probably one of the more complex cultural nationalisms in modern history. Manuel Gamio played an important role in this process, and his contribution as a researcher and as a promoter of nationalism has been celebrated; indeed he is considered one of the pillars of modern Mexican archaeology, and more recently recognised as the "father of anthropology". His model of integral archaeological research at Teotihuacan has remained as the leitmotiv of Mexican archaeology. Throughout the twentieth century Mexican nationalist archaeology has been overshadowed by the idea of an integral archaeology between indigenous nationalism and mestizophile.

The mestizaje has been a lasting element of Mexican nationalism, with contemporary nationalism evolving from different interpretations of mestizaje. As noted, mestizaje has not followed a uniform path, nor has it been implemented in a consistent way. However, with the passage of time these multiple interpretations have relied on the essentialist idea of communion with the past, a vision inherited from the ideas of the Porfiriato, the dictatorial regime created by President Porfirio Díaz (1876-1910). Mexican mestizaje in archaeology has served as a model for the maintenance of the idea of a glorious antiquity, however for all its idealistic content, it

has generated a petrified vision of the past, disconnected from contemporary reality. Mestizaje reproduces the idea of a past of the golden age but this is a de-contextualised, dead past, with no real historical continuity into the present. The use of archaeology, whether for tourism or nationalism, has depended on this concept of historical separation, providing territorial links without cultural continuity.

It has been argued in this chapter that 1968 marked a key watershed, representing an intersection and transformation of the relationship between nationalism, tourism, and archaeology. After that date, tourism somehow shared the significant role that nationalism had gained during the first part of the twentieth century. National policies added a substantial shift in the country and the paths have been dictated by the ability of commoditised cultural resources for consumption in the world of tourism. Tourism in the global economy has a determinant role. Certainly, subsequent to the 1970s, a shift of tourism occurred with the emphasis on tourism in the Mexican Caribbean. This inevitably produced another significant change, the incorporation of the Mayan sites into the tourist circuit. After this, a major commoditisation of culture (past and present) can be observed. Tourism as a cultural process has led to fundamental changes, not only in the management of archaeological sites, but also in the set of relationships occurring in different sectors of Mexican society. It has to be remembered that this period is also dominated by “circumstantial archaeology” where presidential decisions made archaeology both a pastime and a form of political propaganda.

As described above, tourism and nationalism were promoted by the elite. Thus, those who supported post-revolutionary nationalism, were the same who institutionalised tourism as an official business (see full list of presidents and actions in Torruco 1988:39-50). Indeed, a large part of the elite who ended the revolution became promoters, hoteliers, and entrepreneurs of the budding tourism industry (Berger 2006:2). It is no surprise then, that the nationalist project and tourism have used very similar means for the support and promotion of their respective agendas. While archaeology had proved to be an excellent way to exalt the values of identity for the nation, the developers of tourism, without hesitation, also exploited antiquity as a form of promotion. This has had the result that, in Mexico, tourism and nationalism are familiar, well-recognised areas that have affected the development of archaeology in many ways.

The analytical division of four periods that I propose in this chapter is based on the larger changes occurring within post-revolutionary nationalism. It is clear that *indigenismo*, *mestizaje*, and tourism have been part of the same post-revolutionary political platform. The evolution of the Mexican political system has resulted from the symbiosis of nationalism and tourism. Both are still active today, and are important factors in determining the direction of the policies of the country as well as those related to archaeological management. However, the rise in tourism is also related to the criticism of *indigenismo*, which has been accelerated by subsequent changes in the political power. In summary, the periods I propose evidence ambivalences and similarities and, above all, permanent, though changing relationships between nationalism, tourism and archaeology. If nationalism is considered as a factory of identity, tourism is the real economic force that provides a living for a large majority of Mexicans. Archaeology contributes to the creation of identity, however, in recent times the majority of State economic resources have been directed toward the reconstruction of sites, and the building or renovation of tourist facilities. In the next chapter methodology will be explained, together with a detailed account of the sources of information, including coins, notes, stamps, statistics, and guidebooks, that have been compiled and analyzed for this research.

Chapter 3

Archaeology in Currency, Stamps and Guidebooks

The permanent circulation of symbols printed as banal nationalism on products has repercussions in the creation of a national mythology and also in the marketing of heritage. This chapter investigates how the diverse uses of archaeological heritage can be observed and deconstructed through the analysis of banknotes, coins, stamps, guidebooks and statistics of visitors to archaeological sites. Specifically considered are the Banco de Mexico's entire collection of notes (1925-2007) and coins (1905-2007), all postage stamps issued by the Mexican Post (1922-2005), and a number of institutional and commercial guidebook publications (1955-2000). Statistics of visitors to archaeological sites (1964-2006) are also examined. This chapter describes the methodological approaches used in the analysis, and demonstrates how this material can provide a valuable means to analyse particular narratives of the past.

Data Collection and Database

The Data collection base for the writing of this chapter was undertaken in Mexico City during the months of July and August 2008. The aim was to compile diverse sources of information about the utilisation of archaeological iconography and collect actual currency, stamps and guidebooks. Bibliographic information was obtained primarily in libraries, while actual items were acquired at numismatic and philatelic shops. Although, as explained, most information was collected in the 2008 season in Mexico City, a second shorter visit to Spain in the winter of 2010 was needed to complete a review of guidebooks.

Modern banknotes and coins were collected directly from everyday transactions. For uncirculated currency (i.e. money that has been withdrawn from circulation), catalogues were consulted in the Library of the Bank of Mexico; the Factory of Notes was visited to collect specific information about banknotes. Some uncirculated notes and coins were acquired in numismatic shops. Especially relevant was the Casa de la Moneda (a shop with the name of House of Coins) where diverse banknotes and a whole collection of twentieth century coins were carefully examined. This numismatic shop is one of the most famous in Mexico City, its owner being a well-known collector who has published catalogues about Mexican paper money (Douglas 1977, 2003; Douglas, et al. 1982). The acquisition of stamps was more challenging. Some stamps were bought in philately shops, but a visit was also made to the Mexican Postal Service where some bibliographical references were reviewed, and recent stamps were purchased. The headquarters of the SEPOMEX provided some additional interesting information. On its walls several large-format paintings hang, but in place of traditional techniques (oil or watercolour) the motifs are traced with stamps. These stamp-paintings are remarkable for their beauty, but also represent a further embodiment of the ways in which nationalism is tied to the pre-Hispanic past.

For the collection of Spanish-language guidebooks, the Documentation Centre of the Ministry of Tourism (CEDOC) was extremely helpful, as were various libraries visited (Library Juan Comas UNAM, Library of the School of Tourism). Where available, guidebooks were also purchased in bookstores. Additional guidebooks of special relevance for this research were consulted in the Library of Geography and History of the Complutense University at Madrid.

English-language guidebooks were more easily obtained, having wide distribution in England. Some examples were acquired by the author and others were consulted in the libraries in the UK.

The collection of original material and information in Mexico City, and in Spain, was essential as most of the material consulted has a limited, national distribution, making it inaccessible to an international audience. The CEDOC has a wealth of published and unpublished information sources, including a CD containing the statistics of tourism in Mexico (DataTur 2006) which has been very important for this analysis. Visits were also paid to the archaeological sites of Teotihuacan, Tula, Monte Alban, Templo Mayor and the National Museum of Anthropology in order to enrich the content of this research and to collect extra information directly in the field.

Classification of History of Mexico

The history of Mexico which has generally been split out in three periods: Pre-Hispanic (ca 11,000 BC - AD 1521), Colonial (1521-1821) and Independent (1821 - to date) (Florescano and Eissa 2008). These periods have been the subject of criticism, since the dates are mainly based on cultural events that happened in central Mexico. They do not necessarily correspond to events in other regions of the country; for example, in the North of Mexico, where pre-Hispanic settlements (Phillips 1989:377) and the Spanish colonisation (Merino and Newson 1994:9) occurred on a different time scale. Nevertheless, this scheme has been useful in this research as a means to classify banknotes, coins, and stamps for analysis. The table below shows the three main periods and associated subcategories (Table 2).

Pre-Hispanic Mexico		Colonial Mexico	Independent Mexico
BC11,000-2000	Archaic		
BC 2000-250	Pre-Classic		
BC 250- AD 900	Classic		
AD 900- 1521	Post-Classic		
AD 1521-1821		Spanish Colony	
1810-1821			War of Independence
1822-1863			19th Century
1863-1867			French Intervention
1867-1876			Reform and Restoration
1876-1911			Porfiriato
1910-1917			Revolution
1909-1934			Building the new nation
1934-1958			Uprising of Indigenismo
1958-1982			Critical Transition
1986-2006			Neoliberal Mexico

Table 2. Divisions and subdivisions of the three General periods in the History of México (cf Florescano and Eissa 2008). The last four periods are and scheme that has been proposed on present research.

Banknotes, coins, and stamps are produced through dissimilar techniques (either printing or coinage) but they offer diverse possibilities for expression. Due to these differences, the analysis has required distinct treatment at the time of their capture in the database. Banknotes, because of their larger size, are likely to portray a more complex visual discourse. Both on the obverse and the reverse, primary and secondary images are depicted. This means that a note can be analysed in four levels, that is, two on the obverse (principal and secondary image) and two on the reverse (also primary and secondary image). For their part, coins contain two sides (obverse and reverse), with two main images or motifs (one on the obverse, and one on the reverse). Whereas stamps present only one side (obverse), and may contain secondary images, usually there is a main image. Viewing the items in this way suggests that banknotes represent the most multifaceted discourse by virtue of their four surfaces, coins are represented on two levels, while stamps on only one (Figure 4).

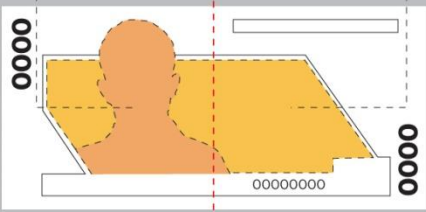
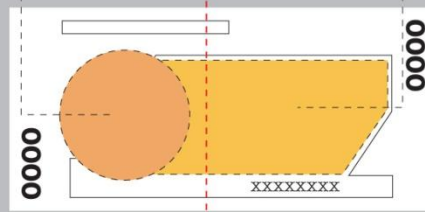



	1. Main Obverse	2. Secondary Obverse	3. Main Reverse	4. Secondary Reverse
Banknote				
Coin		Not applicable		Not applicable
Stamp		Not applicable	Not applicable	Not applicable

Figure 4. This image shows the surfaces of banknotes, coins and stamps that were analysed.

The database created for this research includes 2,912 entries, obtained through the examination of actual banknotes, coins, and stamps (see Appendixes I, II, III and IV). This included 60 banknotes, which when multiplied by the four faces analysed for each item gives 240 areas or surfaces with which depicted relevant information. With respect to coins, 181 individual items were analysed, with a total of 362 surfaces (obverse and reverse) on which designs have been depicted. Stamps were the only items analysed here in which the 2,671 entries reflects the actual number of items on which the images are portrayed. Following these criteria of classification, information was entered into the database, resulting in a total of 3,273 surfaces analysed and processed (see Table 3).

Item	Actual items	Data Processing	Main Obverse	Secondary Obverse	Main Reverse	Secondary Reverse	Total
Banknotes	60		•	•	•	•	240
Coins	181		•	NA	•	NA	362
Stamps	2671		•	NA	NA	NA	2671
Total	2912		2912	60	241	60	3273

Table 3. Surfaces of banknotes, coins and stamps analysed and processed in this research

Coins

Coins are objects that have been the subject of research by scholars in Europe and Asia for their history, durability, use as dating evidence, and designs. Coins are thought to have been minted for the first time around 700 BC in Asia Minor (Kagan 1982:359); they are an archaeological source that provides valuable information for specialists, and also can be treated as documentary source (Gerson 2001:107). The analysis of coins is a well-developed and robust field of study in archaeology and history (see for example Clarke and Schia 1989). Important issues such as identification, standardisation (Lockyear 2007:212), and dating (Kagan 1982) have been highlighted. In the field of numismatics coins are analysed as any other archaeological object (Kroll and Walker 1993:2). Since their origin, coins have been a potent means of portraying gods and kings, depicted to advertise power (Shotter 1979:48), or to show maps as markers of land boundaries (Johnston 1967:91).

In recent times, both coins and currency in general have been considered as bearers of symbolic messages sent by modern nation-states to their own citizens and the wider world. Because of their daily use, the messages they convey are not necessarily perceived as such by their users and they are another example of banal nationalism. The significance that nation-states afford to the symbols printed on currency is of major relevance (Agnew 2005:448). Researchers have also discussed the ways by which money is a powerful means of cultural interaction and, beyond its monetary value, is the trigger of religious or symbolic expressions (Lambek 2001:736). A recent example of the relationship of identity and currency is the impact of the Euro as it has been developed. The launching of the Euro system marked a rupture in the relationship between nation-states and symbols depicted on currency as it has been experienced over the last one hundred years (Wolters 2001:8). Particularly interesting is a study compiled by Gilbert and Helleiner, in which they show that the relationship of money and the nation deserves to be observed more closely (Gilbert and Helleiner 1999b). Another study focuses on the documentation of banknotes in Central and Eastern Europe with the aim of understanding the dramatic changes that followed the disintegration of the Soviet Union in the late 1980s (Unwin and Hewitt 2001).

Studies analysing currency using a similar approach to that pursued here are few, but they have been of great value for my own work. The nation-state and its imagery as depicted in

currency and stamps has been the subject of scrutiny in Belgium and Switzerland (Schwarzenbach 1999) and Greece (Gounaris 2003). For the specific case of Latin-America, John Galloy is one of the few scholars that focuses on the analysis of currency as symbols of nationalism and identity (Galloy 2000). Galloy correctly states that the display of pre-Hispanic archaeology has been a very selective process of choosing just a few cultures from the great diversity potentially available (Galloy 2000:20). This research builds on the efforts of these studies in order to test similar ideas in Mexican currency.

Analysing coins

The coins used for this analysis were released from 1905 to 2007 as circulating money, that is, coins that anyone can use as normal currency. The analysis is based largely on the catalogues of moderns collectors (Bruce 2005, 2008; Douglas nd). Due to commercial interests, catalogues are usually based on the physical condition of the coin. Additional information as to the year of issue, mintage number, and place of issue are also provided. Other variants such as differences in size and proofs (items that never are released as circulating money but valuable for collectors), manufacturing accidents, and minor changes in design are also included. Although catalogues are mainly produced for coin collectors and coin dealers, they provide an important starting point for anyone with a general interest in the subject.

Catalogues contain a basic classification, are printed annually, and their ubiquity makes them extremely useful for comparison on an international basis. The *Standard Catalog of World Coins* (Bruce 2005, 2008) was particularly important for this research: it is the largest and the most comprehensive catalogue to include almost all coins used in this analysis. In the *Standard Catalog*, coins are referenced using the letters KM and a subsequent number. This numbering system will be adopted in the present analysis, using square brackets to denote corresponding coins classification [KM x] when necessary. The *Standard Catalog* includes coins issued until 2002. From 2003 onwards classification has not yet been published. Since my analysis includes coins released between 2003 and 2007, the arbitrary letters CV and a subsequent number of 1000 upwards has been introduced [CV 1000x]. In this case, to avoid misunderstanding, a brief description of each coin is provided, to aid identification. In the future, when international catalogues integrate these new coins, it will be possible to replace these arbitrary numbers with

the catalogue numbering. The Bank of Mexico provides catalogue of coins that was also consulted (Banxico 2008), however this includes only recently released modern coins (since the 1970s). This was valuable in determining precise issue and withdrawal dates and other characteristics, such as current official circulating coins. The Bank of Mexico also maintains a web site with a wealth of information (<http://www.banxico.org.mx/>).

Given that this study seeks to interpret the iconography depicted on coins, the entire content offered by the catalogues mentioned above was not relevant. A new typology that would meet the objectives proposed here was therefore considered essential and subsequently built. The main typological criterion for grouping coins was the design on the obverse, which in the case of the Mexican coins always is the image of an eagle perched on a cactus devouring a serpent (see Myth of Foundation, Chapter 4). This image has been printed on all coins since 1824 to the present date, with several variations in the design of the eagle. Over the mid nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the eagle was depicted with outstretched wings. However, subsequently it has appeared in side view, and right and left profile. In recent times, the eagle design has been unchanged, so that the classification was further developed by considering differences in the overall design layout: variations in the number of prickly pears, cactus leaves, or in the snake allowed an optimal grouping (see types in Table 4, below).

It should also be mentioned that because coins have two faces, it was important to integrate the iconographic information from each side, obverse and reverse, into the database. Once the main criteria (type of eagle) was established, the next step was to include data from the reverse of the coin, such as details of the iconography, archaeological culture represented, location, period or some other trait that potentially represented a rich source of interpretation were observed. Other general data also were integrated into the corpus of information such as the year of release and withdrawal, catalogue classification [KM or CV] and the type of metal in which coins are minted.

Ten categories were identified in the final typology, based on the analysis of 181 coins analysed in total (a total of 362 surfaces.) It is worth noting a few comments. There are four categories which contain only one coin (Types II, III, IV and VII). Types II and III were minted for several years and should therefore be considered as a separate group, while Types IV and VII were minted only for one year. However, their impact nationalism and tourism was highly

significant, as will be demonstrated (see Chapter 4 and 6). The remaining categories (Types I, V, VI, VIII, IX, X) include 8 to 90 coins (see Table 4).

Type	Total	%	Circulation Years
Type I. Eagle's front view: Porfiriana	29	16	1898-1949
Type II. Eagle's front view: Centennial of Independence	1	1	1910-1914
Type III. Eagle's profile view: 20 Gold Pesos	1	1	1917-1921
Type IV. Eagle's profile view: 2 Silver Pesos	1	1	1921
Type V. Eagle's profile view: Four Prickly Pears' Fruit	8	4	1936-1955
Type VI. Eagle's profile view: Three Nopal-Cactus Leaves	21	12	1950-1971
Type VII. Eagle's profile view: Two Nopal-Cactus Leaves	1	1	1968
Type VIII. Eagle's profile view: Empty Snake	11	6	1970-1985
Type IX. Eagle's profile view: Five Nopal-Cactus Leaves	18	10	1980-1992
Type X. Eagle's profile view: Without dots in framework	90	50	1992- 2009
Total general	181	100	1898-2009

Table 4. Coins analyzed by type

Banknotes

The history of paper money and its acceptance as modern currency is diverse and complicated stretching back to the twelfth century in Italy where the trade was done through bills of exchange (Rowlinson 1999:47). It is commonly accepted that the modern Governmental banknote monopolies developed in Europe during the course of nineteenth and twentieth centuries (Schwarzenbach 1999:27) and later extended to different parts of the world. The acceptance of notes as a means of payment was complicated by the key role of Banks in the early national economy, in both printing and in the redemption of nominal value (Crothers 1999). The occurrence of wars and social conflicts drastically affected the perception and fluctuation of notes. In addition, illegal reproductions of banknotes was a constant threat, such that in nineteenth century Britain, the production of counterfeit notes was severely punished with deportation and even hanging (Robertson 2005:33). The most of published literature addressed money as economic phenomenon (Gilbert and Helleiner 1999a:1).

Nevertheless, some research on banknotes based on sociological and anthropological perspectives has also emerged, but there are very few studies focused on the particular analysis of banknote iconography and national identity. Unwin and Hewitt analyse the re-emergence of national identities in Central and Eastern Europe in the 1990s where the depiction of the past was a major feature (Unwin and Hewitt 2001:1023), and other studies have been published in Europe and North America (Crothers 1999; Robertson 2005). An analysis of banknotes in Latin America has also been published by Rosemary Joyce in which she describes how, in the 1990s, the Honduran government issued the image of Lempira (a pre-Hispanic sixteenth century warrior) on the obverse of a banknote; on the reverse, was depicted the Mayan City of Copan. Two different cultures in conflict, Lenca and Maya were portrayed together for national purposes, designed to eliminate cultural differences which are currently debatable aspects of indigenous identity and nation-building (Joyce 2003:89). As already mentioned above, other than Galloy's analysis of Mexican and Central American currencies (Galloy 2000), no researcher has sought to develop a systematic and comprehensive analysis of Mexican notes; this study seeks to synthesize bring together existing studies on the subject.

Analysing banknotes

The notes used in this analysis are those released by the Bank of Mexico from 1925 to 2007. The analysis is based on banknote collector catalogues (Douglas 2003; Douglas, et al. 1982; Gaytán and Utberg 1963), other available publications, and the collection of notes personally amassed for this thesis by the author. Notes catalogues were an important starting point for classification, offering a wide range of general and more specific information such as the year of release, numbers of prints, and place of printing. Important details for note collectors are also included, such as millimetre differences in size, variations of colour, serial number and notes proof, manufacturing accidents, and minor changes in design. However, for the purpose of this study such details are not needed and therefore will not be included.

For the present study, the classification proposed by the Bank of Mexico, in which notes are divided by issue date, is broadly followed (Banxico 2009, nd). To facilitate comparison, the same procedure carried out for the coins was used, following the international reference system of the *Standard Catalog of World Notes*. Catalogue number is provided in square brackets, with the prefix “B”, following by its number [B N] (Bruce and Shafer 2001). The classification of *The Mexican Paper Money*. Catalogue number includes the prefix “DD” followed by a number [DD N] (Douglas 2003) was also used. Inconveniently, both catalogues classified notes until 2000, therefore the procedure for referencing notes from 2001 to 2009 was, as for the coins, an arbitrary, and include the letters CV and the numbers from 2000 upwards [CV 2000 N].

The Bank of Mexico’s notes have been produced by two companies, the American Bank Note Company (ABNC; 1925-1978) and the Mexican Factory of Notes (since 1969). The ABNC produced the first three groups of notes issued. In the first of these the images are portrayed in classic vignettes with a style of Greco-Roman allegories. In the second and third issues, nationalistic motifs are introduced, including portraits of modern and pre-Hispanic individuals in the classical format of ABNC notes. The FBBM has, to date, launched five issues, with significantly different content depicted. The government has been particularly attentive to the messages printed on these notes, the imagery on which provides mini-narratives of the political and cultural history of Mexico.

Through their inherent characteristics of size and the techniques of printing used in their creation, banknotes provide a highly flexible surface on which to express ideas. In many cases, a

note could be regarded as an itinerant art work printed by the millions. In fact, pre-existing artwork, and new arte specifically designed by recognised artists and others adapted especially for banknotes have become an important component of their design. It has been suggested that a banknote could be analysed in the same way as any other art form (Unwin 2001:1007). In most cases, and particularly for those produced by the Mexican Factory of Notes, banknotes can be deconstructed into four sections: two on the obverse and two on the reverse. The main image, which generally depicts a person or individual, is printed on the obverse, and generally dominates the whole composition. The remaining images on the same side represent actions of this character, their place of birth, or other significant mementos of his/her life. The reverse of the note may include a much wider spread of themes, but usually the composition is also associated with the individual on the obverse. A banknote therefore contains a narrative on four levels: the main figure on the obverse may hold the highest level of significance and, therefore the secondary image on the reverse, the lowest.

This four-part narrative presented a challenge for data entry into the database. However, specific fields were designed to capture these stories and sub-stories when analysing and entering information. As mentioned, the Bank of Mexico classification type was followed, but major adjustments were required. For example, the first four emissions of notes in the classification of the Bank of Mexico fall into the same type (AA), however in the course of this analysis, major differences were noticed between them. The original type “AA” was therefore divided into four different types (AA-ABNC 1 to AA). Sixty notes were classified into ten types. Given that each note was divided into four areas, a total of 240 notes faces were therefore analysed (see Table 5).

Type	Total	%	Circulation years
Type I. AA-ABNC	7	12	1925-1934
Type II. AA-ABNC	4	7	1936-1941
Type III. AA-ABNC	9	15	1936-1969
Type IV. AA	7	12	1969-1979
Type V. A	6	10	1980-1988
Type VI. B	4	7	1992
Type VII. C	6	10	1992
Type VIII. D	7	12	1994-2002
Type IX. D1	6	10	2000-2004
Type X. F	4	7	2005-2007
Total general	60	100	1925-2007

Table 5. Banknotes divided by type

Stamps

At the end of the nineteenth century the Post Office system was heavily subsidised. Charges were based on the distance carried and on the number of pages in each letter. Payment was levied on the recipient, who was often unable or unwilling to pay, or the sender had to pre-pay before parcels were released. The issuing of stamps reconfigured the system creating a new set of relationships between sender, Post Office services (i.e. the government), and the recipient. Stamps are also a primary media for symbolic messages from the government to its citizens (Reid 1984:223). In this context, issues of imperialism, political geography, borderland struggles, ethical and racial disputes, health, and cultural affairs have all been represented on stamps (Child 2008).

Stamps have evolved over the years and, aside from their original function in the prepayment of postal services, they have achieved an interesting function as bearers of propaganda (Child 2005:109). Stamps can provide a different kind of information. Three aspects which are of concern to scholars include their identity as physical objects, their function as evidence of postal services and their role as bearers of symbols (Reid 1984:224-225). The first stamp produced in modern times was the *Penny Black* issued in England in 1840 and bearing the portrait of the young Queen Victoria (Reid 1984:226). In Latin America the *Bull's Eye* was the very first stamp issued by Brazil in 1843 (Child 2008:6) whereas Mexico issued its first stamp in 1856 with the image of the Father Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla, one of the leaders of the Mexican War of Independence (Scott 2006:812).

It has been generally recognised that stamps are a fundamental, primary source by which to analyse the symbolic messages which governments aimed to convey to their citizens and also to the world (Reid 1984:223) either as part of popular culture and identity making (Bushnell 1982) or to reinforce territorial boundaries in the international arena (Nuessel 1992). Stamps have also recently been used as primary sources to analyse popular culture (Child 2008:20); as important means to convey significant messages such as the expression of nationalism (Child 2005); in the promotion of knowledge of insects (Mendoza, et al. 2006); for the dissemination of science (Jones 2001); as literature (Katz 2007:3); evolution of science (Méndez 2010), illnesses and scientists (Flores and Redondo 2003); and as a hobby for collectors (Gibbons 2006; Scott 2006).

Stamps can express a self-representation of a country and, due their ubiquity, are a potent means of non-verbal communication that illustrates commercial, political, cultural, artistic, and historical events; several different countries have produced a great number of archaeological stamps (Daniel 1968:250). Child rightly asserts that the most prolific category of stamps is that relating to tourism. Stamps serve different purposes, they are used to advertise the country, and additionally work to strengthen identity creating a positive image abroad (Child 2005:124).

In addition to Child (2005, 2008) a number of scholars have explored the field of postage stamps in Latin America where stamps possess an extraordinary variety of themes, styles and design characteristics. In Mexican literature some isolated and brief studies about the representations of insects on stamps (Mendoza, et al. 2006) and politics (Katz 2007) have been published. A study focused on history, politics, and archaeological iconography depicted on stamps was long due and is the focus of the present study.

Analysing stamps

This analysis looks in depth at postage stamps issued in Mexico from 1922 to 2005. The Mexican Post Office (SEPOMEX), the issuing body, is a governmental institution that belongs to the Ministry of Communications and Transport. The stamps are issued and withdrawn or replaced by means of presidential decree; this makes the issuing of stamps entirely the responsibility of the government (SEPOMEX 1986). Different sources were consulted, including two collectors' catalogues (Gibbons 2006; Scott 2006). The analysis is also based on research into the archives of the issuing body, and on actual stamps acquired by the author. The item

numbering system used in this chapter is that of SCOTT's catalogue since this is one of the most internationally recognised. Hereinafter the SCOTT catalogue number will be put in square brackets [x] when needed.

The history of Mexican philately has been divided for this study into four periods: the classic (1856-1883), the antique (1884-1910), the revolutionary (1910-1923), and the modern (1924 to date) epochs (Mendoza, et al. 2006:444). After the Mexican Revolution production of stamps through the Mexican Post Office was standardised. This research focuses in the latest period (1922-2005). Unlike coins and banknotes, stamps present just one surface for analysis. However, their annual repetition and high number of printings represented a challenge. My study of Mexican stamps had a further difficulty: the lack of iconographic information for many items. Although the catalogues consulted provided a wide range of images, in some cases there were no illustrations, and a more intensive search had to be undertaken. Nevertheless, a comprehensive analysis of stamps including all launched since 1922 was achieved. The analysis has been proven to be a success, not just for classification, but in addressing questions of interpretation.

Stamps are divided into many different categories, but the most basic and important of these are the *Definitive* and *Commemorative* classes. A Definitive stamp generally remains on sale for an indefinite period and is issued in a wide range of values. It is printed in large quantities and repeats general themes; the same designs remain in use for several years. Commemorative stamps are issued to celebrate special, time-sensitive events (Child 2008:16). They may be issued occasionally, or on a yearly basis, to pay homage to individuals, to celebrate national or international days, or to commemorate important events. Commemorative stamps are printed in a more limited way than Definitive ones, but are more suitable for delivering political messages (of agreement or disagreement), due their being issued for a short period of time.

Definitive stamps

A total of 581 (22% of all stamps in our study) Definitive stamps were issued from 1922 to 2005. Eleven series have been released: Illustrious Men (1916-1929), Air Post Stamp (1922), Air Post Stamp (1929-1934), Air Post Stamp (1934-1935), Places and Monuments (1923-1937), Nameless (1934-1947), Architecture and Archaeology (1950-1975), México Exports (1975-

1992), Tourist Mexico (1993-2001), México Conserves (2002-2005), and Mexican Folk Hand crafting (2005-) (Table 6).

Definitive Stamp Title Series	Total Stamps	%
Illustrious Men (1916-1923)	1	0.17
Air Post Stamp of 1922 (1922-1932)	6	1.03
Air Post Stamp of 1929-1934 (1929-1947)	31	5.34
Air Post Stamp of 1934-1935 (1934-1947)	24	4.14
Places and Monuments (1923-1937)	35	5.86
Nameless (1934-1946)	49	8.45
Architecture and Archaeology (1950-1975)	98	16.90
Mexico Exports (1975-1992)	117	20.17
Tourist Mexico (1993-2001)	73	12.59
Mexico Conserves (2002-2005)	129	22.24
Mexico Folkloric Creation (2005-)	18	3.10
Total	581	100.00

Table 6. Definitive Stamp Series Title

Commemorative stamps

A total of 2090 (78 % of the total) commemorative stamps have been released from 1923 to 2005 (Table 7). Descriptions of these are more difficult due to the diversity of themes and the high number of issues. A comprehensive listing is provided in the appendices (see Appendix I and IV).

Commemorative Stamp Series	Total Stamps	%
Stamps in series of one, two or three	1897	90.76
Stamps in series from four up to 60 stamps	193	0.19
Total	2090	100.0

Table 7. Summary of Commemorative stamps

Database: analysis and results

The banknotes, coins, and stamps were further classified following the division of the history of Mexico: Pre-Hispanic, Colonial, and Independent periods. A further category under the title “Allegory” was added. Although this does not correspond to the history of Mexico, but rather to the Greco-Roman world, it was needed because in the early twentieth century Mexico included classical vignettes on notes and coins. In general, the descriptive potential of the division of the history of Mexico has contributed to the organisation of the information given here. As can be seen in the table below, the most-represented period is the Independent with 70% of the sample; it is followed by the Pre-Hispanic period with 17%, while the Colony is represented at a rate of 7.05%. Allegories barely reach 1%. A low percentage of 3% could not be classified, either because there was no applicable or it does not correspond to any of the previous periods (see Table 8).

Item	Main Obverse	Secondary Obverse	Main Reverse	Secondary Reverse	Total	
Pre-Hispanic	492	11	58	16	577	17.62%
Colonial	211	4	15	1	231	7.05%
Independent	2155	23	133	7	2318	70.82%
Allegory	10	1	15	3	29	0.88%
No Info	44	21	20	33	118	3.60%
No Applicable		2852	2671	2852		
Total	2912	60	241	60	3273	100%

Table 8. Results of analysis

Because this research is focused on the analysis of the iconography of Pre-Hispanic Mexico, it was necessary to create a subdivision. The most general scheme, the pre-Hispanic period has been divided into four periods: Archaic, Pre-classic, Classic, and Post-Classic epochs, covering a period ranging from BC 11,000 to AD 1521. Although these categories vary between regions and cultures, for this research it was useful to group the iconography according to this classification. The most common periods depicted on banknotes, coins, and stamps are the Pre-Classic (1.55%), Classic (15.59%), and Post-Classic (80.24%) that grouped 577 representations either in banknotes, coins, and stamps. It import is to mention that some archaeological sites

were occupied during all three periods however, when necessary, the classification of sites has been based on the most important cultural development (see Table 9).

	Main Obverse	Secondary Obverse	Main Reverse	Secondary Reverse	Total	
Pre-Classic	6		3		9	1.55%
Classic	89			1	90	15.59%
Post-Classic	398	11	39	15	463	80.24%
Not Info					15	2.59%
	493	11	42	16	577	100%

Table 9. Result of archaeological iconography identified

Guidebooks

A final category to be analysed in addition to coins, banknotes and stamps were guidebooks. It has been observed that a guidebook is a complex system of variables including tourists, destination, and even interpretation (Therkelsen and Sørensen 2005:49). The understanding of guidebooks by tourists is not straightforward. Different factors such as individual backgrounds and perceptions of places affect the process. Not all information provided in a guidebook is accepted by tourists without criticism, and that the impact of guidebooks on individual tourists is never the same. Also, it is important to take into account that there is a process of selection by which the tourist actively chooses the type of guidebook that better fits with the type of holiday desired. A guidebook is an important cultural product which is not just of value for what it says but for what it represents as a cultural marker.

Despite the long existence of guidebooks, they represent a type of literature considered as minor by the academic world. Guidebooks have been criticised for being naïve and simple. Negative criticism is rooted in a broader discourse that links the existence of tourism with the consumer society. Beyond the brief critique of Roland Barthes (Barthes 1972) and the studies of Dean MacCannell (MacCannell 1989), guidebooks had received limited attention until the last decade. Claude Jacobs analysed the particular case of the guidebooks according to their potential as "markers" following MacCannell's pathway of the symbols and meanings that create the

tourism industry, stressing that the guidebooks serve as external image makers that reproduce stereotypes that do not necessarily correspond to a reality in a constantly changing world (Jacobs 2001:326).

In an approach closely related to the work presented here, Rudy Koshar suggests that the ability of tourism to promote national identity is an example of the search for meaning beyond the market. For this author, in addition to promoting tourism, guidebooks delineated and greatly helped to create the national image of several European countries (Koshar 1998). Koshar explores relationships between perspectives of national tourism, and considers how tourism and nationalism are based on an idea of opposition to the quotidian routine and a desire for authenticity. Other interesting work has been published comparing omissions and style in the cultural translation of the same guidebook into different languages (Smecca 2009). Denise Fay Brown also mentions some guidebooks and brochures of the Mayan area in an assessment of issues of power and cultural transformation (Brown 1999). The University of Melbourne has created a special collection of every edition of every item published by Lonely Planet from 1973 until 2006, consisting of some 1,300 volumes in total (Melbourne University 2011) which doubtless will contribute to the comprehension of guidebooks as a cultural process.

Analysing guidebooks

A vast corpus of guidebooks has been published. However, this research exclusively focuses on institutionally and commercially produced examples. Institutional guidebooks are generally used as a way of providing a historical education to the general public, and also as a way to strengthen identity. Nevertheless, the success of tourism as an important way of raising earnings triggered the production of commercial guidebooks. In the latter, archaeological sites are usually listed as commercial commodities within the spectrum of other tourist attractions.

The analysis of the guidebooks produced by INAH represents a unique way to demonstrate how tourism is promoted from an institutional perspective. Due to the important responsibility of INAH as a national steward, it was possible to identify the permanent collection of INAH's Official Guides published since 1955. Although all the Official Guides have been released to date, for this study the decision was taken of analysing only those guides from 1955

to 1969, this period providing the best information relating to the promotion of tourism as driven by INAH. The Official Guidebooks are generally dedicated to a particular site, though in some rare cases, they include two or three sites within the same issue. These guidebooks were published and reprinted so consistently that their content provides a close representation of systematic and sustained promotion of tourism by a governmental institution. In total, 26 guidebooks to archaeological sites and archaeological museums published in the period of interest were identified; this research focuses on the 19 guidebooks specifically published for archaeological sites (Table 10).

Archaeological Site or Museum	1955	1957	1958	1963	1969
Altavista-Chalchihuites				•	•
Calixtlahuaca				•	•
Cempoala				•	•
Chichén Itzá	•	•	•	•	•
Copilco		•	•	•	•
Cuicuilco		•	•	•	•
El Tajin		•	•	•	•
La Quemada				•	•
Malinalco			•	•	•
Mitla		•	•	•	•
Monte Alban		•	•	•	•
Palenque	•	•	•	•	•
Templo Mayor		•	•	•	•
Tenayuca		•	•	•	•
Teotihuacan		•	•	•	•
Tula		•	•	•	•
Tulum				•	•
Uxmal		•	•	•	•
Yagul		•	•	•	•
Ciudades Mayas					•
Museo de la Cultura Huasteca					•
Museos de Tabasco					•
Sala de Cultura del Golfo			•		•
Sala de Cultura Maya		•	•		•
Sala de Cultura de Occidente					•
Museo Nacional de Antropología		•	•		•

Table 10. INAH's Official Guidebooks to archaeological sites or related to archaeological heritage 1955-1969.

In addition to the official guidebooks, this study has also analysed commercial guidebooks (Table 11). Due to the extensive number of such publications, one of the biggest challenges was to select those to be examined. The basic approach focused on locating guides in which Mexico was promoted but also those including a significant amount of information relating to archaeology. With these two basic criteria, four guidebooks were chosen where the archaeological sites of Mexico were featured as tourist destinations. These guidebooks were also produced by the largest publishing houses, which gives them a particular orientation in a broader context.

Type of guide	The Rough Guide	Lonely Planet	Blue Guide	Footprints Guide
Number of sites mentioned	42	60	230	72

Table 11. Archaeological sites mentioned on commercial guidebooks.

Once collections of institutional and commercial guidebooks were identified and obtained, each specimen was analysed carefully. Guidebooks were systematically reviewed to detect references to archaeological sites. Once the sites were identified, information was highlighted, recorded, and finally integrated into the database. As will be mentioned in Chapter 8, institutional and commercial guidebooks represent two fundamentally different forms of tourism which have coexisted more intensively since the mid 1980s.

Site visiting

Tourism is extremely susceptible to external conditions. Natural disasters such as earthquakes and volcanic eruptions, as well as economic and health crises, and incidences or threats of terrorism all negatively influence the flux of tourists. Other factors such mass events like the Olympic Games or the Football World Cup dramatically increase tourist numbers. In the case

under analysis it is worth correlating statistical information for visitors to archaeological sites, especially after the 1960s when archaeology became more important in attracting tourists.

Statistics of visitors to archaeological sites are a rich source of information to assess the impact of tourism. In this research, statistics were collected for 180 sites officially open for public visiting up to March 2011 by the INAH. In these statistics, sites are classified into six categories according to the number of visitors they receive each year (AAA, AA, A, B, C and *Gratis*). These categories in turn are a reflection of the importance and impact (positive and negative) that a site receives in its modern condition of *ruins*. The categories assigned also determine how much the entrance fee is worth (see Table 12). These categories can also lead to the design of strategies for protection and monitoring and also reflect other important aspects of the relationship between archaeological sites at the international, national, and local levels.

INAH's Category	Entrance Fee [MXN]	Number of sites
AAA	51	10
AA	49	7
A	41	17
B	37	37
C	31	33
Free	Free	76
Total		180

Table 12. INAH's category of archaeological sites.

Analysing statistics

The various ways in which an archaeological site is promoted and visited can be monitored by observing statistical trends. Visitor statistics show very clearly that oscillations are related to political and economic circumstances; most visitors arrive at a particular site, not because of the cultural development of that site, but due to systematic promotions. It is interesting to note that positive fluctuations may be associated, for example, with political campaigns; conversely, low turnout may be related to local uprisings or to natural catastrophes. International campaigns, nomination for World Heritage Site status, health crises, and economic and political changes are invariably reflected in visitor numbers.

The statistics used in this study relate to the general trends for Domestic (DV), Foreign (FV) and Total Visitors (TV) to archaeological sites, with data from 1964 to 2006 (DataTur 2006; INEGI 2004). However, it is important to note that from 1964 to 1971 the figures refer to *total* visitors (without distinction between domestic and foreign visits), while from 1980 onwards, statistics are available for both domestic and foreign visitors. From 2002 the data also includes information for individual sites (see Table 13).

Statistic Year	Domestic Visitors (DV)	Foreign Visitors (FV)	Total Visitors to all archaeological sites (TV)	Visitors per site
1964-1971	No	No	Yes	No
1980-2002	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
2002-2009	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Table 13. Statistics available for visitors to archaeological sites 1964-2009.

The number of visitors at sites is partly related to the cost of the entrance fee. The statistics consulted here counted only visitors who entered into archaeological sites after paying an entrance fee. However, children, students, teachers and seniors (over 60) are exempt from fees, and on Sundays and bank holidays, entrance is free for a national audience, presenting a national identity card. It is therefore highly probable that these numbers should be higher. In 2008, for example, according to a fieldwork observation it was reported that Teotihuacan was visited by approximately 2.50 million tourists (including tourists with and without fee; (Newell 2008:254). Official statistics consulted in this research (INEGI 2004; DataTur 2006) stated that in the same year, only 1.2 million fee-paying visitors entered Teotihuacan. Other differences between the field estimations and the official statistics have also been reported. However, due to the absence of more precise data, for the present analysis the published data will be used. Interpretation should not be affected by the potential variability within these figures, although further research would provide an extended context.

Conclusions

This chapter has demonstrated the relevance of stamps, notes and coins as valuable media through which to observe how the depiction of archaeological sites has developed as an essential component and expression of the nation-state. Archaeological heritage became a source of inspiration for the re-creation of nostalgia and the romance of antiquity. The depiction of sites and archaeological objects seemed to be an innocent and innocuous means to show an ideal, picturesque image of the past. However, this romantic idealism was transformed, and archaeological heritage became the preferred tool of economic, political, and symbolical power. The analysis of archaeological heritage depicted on stamps, notes and coins is potentially an area of great interest for any scholar of the creation of selective narratives. The items analysed in this study were launched over a range of similar time periods and were officially supervised by the Mexican government. This means that they provide a valuable reflection of the preferred, official themes and narratives of the nation and its ancient sites. This analysis can also, therefore, be reasonably considered as a total sample. As was observed above, archaeological heritage has been represented in nearly 20% of the entire sample. This demonstrates the special place it has held in the national consciousness. A sizeable proportion of the national identity has been created from the depiction of images of the pre-Columbian past.

On the other hand, the promotion of tourism has attracted the attention of an increasingly large society of consumers. The incorporation of archaeological sites into the tourist circuit has increased gradually. The bucolic, peaceful experiences described by early tourists to archaeological sites at the dawn of the century are now a vague memory; the same sites are now visited by millions. This increasing demand generated the emergence of a genuine tourism product: the guidebook. The analysis of guidebooks in a diachronic perspective will help explore the ways in which archaeological sites have been offered for tourist consumption. The official guides provided by the INAH condense an early period of Mexican archaeological tourism in the first part of the twentieth century; guidebooks produced commercially from the mid-1980s onwards provide a comparison. Both reflect important changes and transformations of archaeological tourism throughout the last century.

This work seeks to build on efforts of those who have already examined archaeology from an externalist perspective. This research aims to analyse the complex gestation of

archaeology as a political tool for nationalism and also its transformation into a commercial product for the purpose of tourism. During the emergence of nation states, no-one questioned the utilisation of archaeology by and for the nation. However, in the new tourist era claims of ownership are heard everywhere and the nation has been the first to resent the demands for the right to have access to the management - political, ideological and economic - of archaeological heritage, especially for monumental sites. Some images of the past are used over and over again, both by nationalism and by tourism. This arbitrary selection of some images and icons demonstrates an absolute devotion for some ruins and some images of the past regardless of their use for nationalism or tourism.

Summarizing the above, through the analysis of notes, stamps, coins, and guidebooks, and the compilation of statistics, this project aims to study the trajectory of the complex processes through which ideologically selective narratives of the past have helped to build the identity and, later, to encourage tourism. The portrayal and the promotion of the nation is the result of social, economic and political interactions. The iconography printed coins, notes and stamps will therefore be analysed in relation to those interactions. In order to observe the ways in which the past has been used to portray the image of pre-Hispanic Mexico, massively consumed for national and foreign visitors over the twentieth century.

Chapter 4

Mexican Nationalism Circulating on Stamps and Currency

Following the end of the Mexican Revolution (1917), the progressively more centralised government sought to end the long-standing and divisive ethnic conflicts created during the nineteenth century. It has been largely accepted that the ideology of post-revolutionary nationalism was expressed in a variety of ways: through song, dance, literature, plastic arts, murals on public buildings, the excavation and restoration of pre-Hispanic archaeological sites, and the display of pre-Hispanic artefacts and sculptures in museums, as well as represented on postage stamps, notes, and coins. In this chapter I would like to go further and propose that it is possible to recognize a series of different periods of Mexican nationalism on the basis of the pre-Hispanic iconography displayed on stamps, coins, and notes. The aim of this chapter is to present the images depicted on currency and stamps in order to identify the extent to which post-revolutionary ideology corresponds to the three major periods Mexican nationalism went through after the Revolution. In the first period (1909-1934), post-revolutionary nationalism is not represented in any form on the currency or stamps; in fact, in this period, until the end of the revolution the icons that were used were created previously under the *Porfiriato*. In the second period (1934-1958), post-revolutionary nationalism was represented mainly on stamps, but also on banknotes and coins. In the third period (1958-1982), an overwhelming depiction of pre-Hispanic iconography indistinctly in stamps, notes and coins, can be observed.

Banal Nationalism in Stamps and Currency

Currency and stamps are a type of material culture that is particularly important in creating ideas about the past, and therefore, discourses of identity. Precisely because of their potential in shaping ideas about the nation, including nationalism, currency and stamps have drawn attention from researchers. Currency and stamps are one of the most visible goods under State control and production. While currency is produced mainly for domestic consumption, stamps are created for the dual role of national as well as international distribution. Stamps have been likened to "windows" that allow an observer to see what a State wants to show to others about itself (Covington and Brunn 2006:125). This demonstrates that neither currency nor stamps serve only for economic transfers; they are important verbal and non-verbal vehicles of communication (Galloy 2000:15). It is true that stamps and currency are not the only elements through which a nationalist ideology circulates, but they are an important medium for these messages. Each year an extensive number of stamps, banknotes and coins are launched. These items circulate by the millions domestically, and beyond the national borders.

The study of stamps, banknotes, and coins from the perspective of nationalism has grown, although in a limited way, in the last three decades (Anameriç 2006; Billig 1995; Child 2008; Covington and Brunn 2006; Deans and Dobson 2055; Gounaris 2003; Jones 2001; Murray 2002; Nuessel 1992; Reid 1984; Schwarzenbach 1999; Sexty 2001; Unwin and Hewitt 2001). While these studies have addressed the issue of nationalism in coins and stamps in different parts of Europe and Asia, only a small proportion has focused on Latin America (Child 2005, 2008; Galloy 2000; Joyce 2003).

As mentioned in Chapter 3, Galloy is one of the few researchers who has addressed the analysis of currency and nationalism (Galloy 2000). This author examines the iconography in coins and notes of eight Latin American countries, including Mexico. For Galloy the images depicted on Mexican coins have been one of the most important means used to authenticate nationalism. He suggests that this has been accomplished primarily through an aggressive *Indigenista* policy with the goal of erasing cultural differences between the Indian, Mestizo, and white populations. He also mentions that the pre-Hispanic past of Mexico has been permanently represented on coins and banknotes (Galloy 2000:18). However, he argues that despite being one of the recurring themes, the indigenous past has been presented as submissive or in secondary

position in relation to other elements. For example, in notes the pre-Hispanic past appears in subordination to the Hispanic *white* heritage. In coins the same action takes place, in that pre-Hispanic features appear on the reverse, while the coat of arms appears on the front. Galloy argues that, in contrast to the ideology of *Mestizaje*, in banknotes or coins the indigenous pre-Hispanic past is melded with the Hispanic past (Galloy 2000:19).

The interpretation of Galloy follows the position of Mexican anthropologist Guillermo Bonfil Batalla who argued that the representation of the pre-Hispanic past recalls the existence of a dead world: glorious, but dead (Bonfil Batalla 1996 [1991]:1; Galloy 2000:18-19). As mentioned in this thesis, especially in Chapter 1, the representation of the dead past has been a constant theme of nation-states in search of a golden age. The Mexican nation-state has appealed to the same process in the creation of its nationalist Pantheon (as discussed in Chapter 5). Galloy also asserts that the representation of pre-Hispanic cultures has been very selective. Given the enormous range of native cultures present in the country which could potentially be displayed, the State has relied on the appeal of a small number of them, which are repeatedly depicted (Galloy 2000:20).

With respect to stamps and nationalism, Child in turn deals with the analysis of stamps from a semiotic perspective (Child 2005). Although his study does not focus specifically on Mexico, some arguments pertain to the relationship of stamps and nationalism. He mentions that stamps have been a natural vehicle for the movement of the symbols and icons of national identity and unity. Child notes that these symbols can range from the representation of a simple flag to portraits of national heroes and personages. In the case of Mexico, for example, busts of revolutionary heroes have been widely used on stamps (Child 2005:120). He also mentions that the pre-Hispanic indigenous past has been important in the forging of a national identity. In Mexico, for example, the Aztecs have been especially important to nation-building; this trend of including pre-Hispanic cultures in the creation of a nationalist ideology became even stronger after the Revolution (Child 2005:121). In fact Child mentioned that for certain countries, including Mexico, stamps have been used as a way to represent the national symbols, especially the nation and its achievements. He affirms that there has been a conscious effort to maintain the pre-Hispanic past (Child 2008:48).

The valuable contribution of Galloy's and Child's studies is, however, limited by their disregard towards the transformations that nationalism has gone through, and the way in which these changes are reflected in the production of currency or stamps. These authors focus on some specific aspects, whether on nationalism in general or in its relation to internal and external policy. While nationalism certainly has been rooted in the ideology of the *Indigenismo* and *Mestizaje* (chapter 2), there are important variations through time that might be reflected in the production of coins, banknotes, and stamps. In this chapter I intend to analyse the pre-Hispanic iconography depicted on currency and stamps in order to explore the variations of depiction of a nationalist ideology through the twentieth century.

The empirical evidence for this chapter is obtained from an examination of 122 stamps, 18 coins with representations of archaeological heritage on the reverse, and 11 banknotes. Regarding stamps, discussion is based on the analysis of five definitive and three commemorative stamp series (for a definition of these terms see chapter 3), all containing archaeological iconography. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the definitive series are printed and released over a long period of time, therefore they reflect the prevailing concepts of the era in which they were first released, and replicate these ideas through time. The issue of commemorative series is more time-sensitive and their release may occur once, twice, or three times, usually with gaps of several years between series. These series reflect a particular moment in time. In the general Appendix a detailed description of notes, stamps, and coins is provided (see Appendix I)

First period (1909-1934)

As mentioned in Chapter 2, this period of time was influenced by the publication of foundational works on post-revolutionary nationalism. Political thinkers such as Andrés Molina, Manuel Gamio, and Jose Vasconcelos had changed the intellectual scene of the time and built the foundations for what would be Mexican nationalism of the twentieth century. However, in analysing the iconography contained in both currency and stamps, it is clear that the acclaimed intellectual reformation proposed at the end of the revolution was not reflected on the iconography utilised to adorn notes, coins, and stamps. Most of the images represented had been created during the latter part of the nineteenth century, during which time the modern history of Mexico was created, based on the proposal put forth in *México a Través de los Siglos* [Mexico Throughout the Centuries] (Riva Palacio 1884-1889) in which the past was divided into three periods: Pre-Hispanic, Colonial, and Modern, (Florescano 2005:165). The representation of pre-Hispanic iconography during this period is totally dominated by the release of stamps, although some coins were also released. Two important definitive series were published under the titles of *Places and Monuments* (1923-1937) and *Air Post Stamp Series 1929-1934* (1929-1947); however, before beginning the description of the stamps of these series a brief mention of a coin released in 1917 is worthwhile, as it provides a context for the understanding of nationalism throughout the whole century twentieth century.

Opening the century with a Gold Mexica Coin

Although coins were not intensively used during this period, the only coin minted at the end of the armed period (1917) is crucial in expressing the pathway that nationalism would take with respect to the pre-Hispanic past. It was a gold twenty Peso coin [KM 478] which, in addition to its extraordinary beauty, had a great influence on the uses of Aztec imagery (Figure 5). On the front face is displayed the well-known image of an Eagle devouring a snake, which is officially the National Seal. It is one of the preferred symbols of the nationalist pantheon, and is one of the most reproduced images in Mexico. The reverse of this coin is also significant because it bears an attractive engraving of the Stone of the Sun, one of the Aztec monoliths (an object of nationalistic devotion, as discussed in Chapter 5). With the release of this coin, known colloquially as the *Aztec Gold*, Mexican nationalism began one of its most prolific phases of using the past. This coin is significant in two ways. Firstly, it synthesises the exceptional value

that the State has granted the Aztec culture (gold = highest value in metals). It is actually the only coin of normal currency bearing pre-Hispanic iconography that has been minted in gold to date. Secondly, and more importantly, this coin marked the moment from which henceforth the Mexica would be considered to be the “Golden Culture” (as I discuss in Chapter 5). It is true that some features of the outer ring of The Stone of the Sun had already been used as an iconographic element in a coin minted for the first time in 1905 [KM 421], and later in 1936 two coins were released with the iconography of the Stone of the Sun [KM 423 and 432], but none of them had the impact of the Aztec Gold.



Figure 5. Aztec Gold 20 pesos coin [KM 478]

Places and Monuments (1923-1937)

The stamp series *Places and Monuments* is a visual lecture on the creation of national history. It was based on the division of history of Mexico presented in chapter 3. Coincidentally, the 35 stamps of *Places and Monuments* represent pre-Hispanic (29%), colonial (42%), and independent (29%) periods. The most representative monuments, which had been opened during the *Porfiriato*, were chosen to adorn this series. The stamps illustrate the nation's most important events, from the oldest to the most recent. The pre-Hispanic period is represented by the Pyramid of the Sun [SC 635] and the image of Cuauhtémoc [SC 639]. The discovery of America is represented by Christopher Columbus [SC 689], and the colonial period is embodied by a stamp of the friar Bartolomé de las Casas, who, with his arms open, looks at the sky with a sigh of resignation after seeing the lifeless body of an Indian who had just been recently killed by the Spanish [SC 683] (this image is in fact a reproduction of a government-sponsored painting by Felix Parra, 1875). This stamp was followed by the heroes of the time of Independence, such as

Josefa Ortiz de Domínguez [SC 691] and Jose María Morelos y Pavón [SC 687a]. Another important stamp showed the monument dedicated to Benito Juárez [SC 666], a liberal hero of the Reformation. The collection ends with an image of the Palace of Fine Arts [SC 649] which was designed by the government of Porfirio Díaz in 1904, but due to the armed revolution it would not be finished until 1934. This brief historical account represents the genesis of Mexico as a Mestizo country where the pre-Hispanic past played a fundamental part in the representation of the nation. This is illustrated by the glorious era of Mesoamerican cultures (Teotihuacan), through the strength of the conquest (Cuauhtémoc), followed by the Independence from Spain (Ortiz de Domínguez), consolidating a nation in the late nineteenth century (Benito Juárez), and finally crowned with the erection of distinctive buildings in the new modern era (Fine Arts).

Regarding the representations of Cuauhtémoc [SC 639], the last Mexica ruler, and the Pyramid of the Sun at Teotihuacan [SC 635], some thoughts are worth mentioning. The Cuauhtémoc Monument was erected in 1885 as a symbol of the *Porfiriato*, where this pre-Hispanic martyr reached the status of national hero. This monument was put up in Mexico City (Tenorio 1994:105) as part of the city's renovation in the late nineteenth century together with other monuments that celebrated the different periods of the history of Mexico (Tenorio 1996a:86-87). The monument to Cuauhtémoc was a bridge to the golden age culture, but eliminated the significance of the indigenous culture that arose during the colonial era; it petrified the final part of the golden age and was used to create an idyllic image of a bygone time. The monument represented more than the Bronze Race (the Latin American version of classical antiquity); it was the perfect myth of the nineteenth century used to justify the monopoly of the past. Cuauhtémoc was transformed by the cradle of nationality and became an ideological brick in the construction of the new nation (see Chapter 5).

In addition to Cuauhtémoc another depiction was of particular importance. It was the representation of the Pyramid of the Sun at Teotihuacan. Despite the fact that the images depicted in the series *Places and Monuments* were created during the *Porfiriato* are the most frequent. The Pyramid of the Sun at Teotihuacan was one of the new additions of pre-Hispanic images appearing on the official iconography in the 1920s, as demonstrated by the stamp series *Places and Monuments* [SC 635, 651]. The Pyramid of the Sun stamp depicts an isolated image, which was printed only twice (1923 and 1927). The picture presents an engraving in which the

dominant image is the pyramid itself. In the margins miniature designs of the Mexica deities Tláloc and Quetzalcóatl are included, themselves reproductions of actual architectural features (Figure 6). Through the incorporation of pre-Hispanic monuments and objects in stamps, coins, and notes, *mestizaje* became institutionalised as a national ideology. This idea would be reinforced through basic education, for example, the incorporation of national history in elementary school texts as well as the creation of an important collection of paintings by the most influential painters of the time, sponsored by the government (Fulton 2008; Pérez 2003).



Figure 6. Pyramid of the Sun at Teotihuacan, Places and Monuments Stamp Series [SC 635]

A series of icons have become essential symbols of nationalism. In addition to the symbols mentioned above (The Stone of the Sun, Cuauhtémoc, or Teotihuacan), another one of the most persistent features of Mexican nationalism is the representation of an Eagle eating a snake in the middle of a lake. This image, which is the symbol of the founding myth of the city of Mexico-Tenochtitlan by the Aztecs in 1325, has been used as an emblem for Mexico at least since 1811 (Carrera 1959:11) and has been adopted as the official coat of arms since 1823, though many variations on the design have emerged. Since Mexico became independent this symbol has been one of the most frequently used by the nation-state (as discussed in more detail in Chapter 5), and represents the exaltation of the nation's origins. This image has appeared as a

primary design on all coins analysed in this study (181), indicating that the Aztec Myth of Foundation has been merged with the origin of the Mexican Nation. Additionally, this symbol has been depicted on a great diversity of postage stamps, such as the series launched in this time period under the name of *Air Post Stamps Series of 1929-1934*.

Air Post Stamp Series of 1929-1934 (1929- 1947)

The Air Post Stamp series includes 31 stamps used for air post deliveries, and usually included a depiction of a 'plane together with other imagery. The images included represent just two periods: modern (13%) and pre-Hispanic (87%). The latter comprised 27 stamps bearing an archaeological image. This number is high because 24 of the stamps bear the Myth of Foundation as part of the design [SC C11 to C25, C38, C39, C46, C49, C50, C62, C63, C64 and C75]. However, three meaningful stamps were introduced in 1934, marking the beginning of a new era in depictions on postage stamps. These new images included a representation of the Tláloc of Teotihuacan [SC C66], the stylised pyramid and pottery of Michoacán [C71], and a beautiful representation of the face of a warrior Mexica Eagle Man [SC C72] (Figure 7).



Figure 7. Mexica Eagle-Man, Air Post Stamp Series [SC C72]

In summary, the postage stamp series *Places and Monuments* and *Air Post Stamp*, together within the Aztec Gold coin, represented the national history in the third part of the

twentieth century as it had been used during the *Porfiriato*. In fact, even the Pyramid of the Sun can be taken as one of the last symbols created during the *Porfiriato*, because during the early years of the twentieth century, Leopoldo Batres, who was the most influential person in Porfirian archaeology, had partially reconstructed the Pyramid of the Sun (Batres 1908:3) in order to celebrate the centennial of Mexican independence (cf Bueno 2004). The nineteenth century had its roots in the essential ideas of Porfirian nationalism; that is, in the belief that the valuable indigenous culture was the one that had built the pyramids (referring to the pre-Hispanic builders), and was not necessarily related to the indigenous living culture that had emerged after a long process of interactions during the Spanish Colonial era. In this first period the nationalist fervour projected by intellectuals and researchers of post-revolutionary renovation was not reflected in either stamps or coins.

Second Period (1934-1958)

This period was one of the most significant in reinforcing the identity and feelings of romantic nationalism, when Mexican elites created an atmosphere of social integration through post-revolutionary ideology. In 1940 Mexico hosted the *Primer Congreso Indigenista Interamericano* [Inter-American *Indigenista* First Congress in Pátzcuaro, Michoacán, and in it, President Lázaro Cárdenas (1934-1940) stated his intention to “Mexicanize the Indian”. Indeed Cárdenas has been considered as the main proponent of modern nationalism. Amongst his significant achievements are the nationalisation of the oil industry, the enactment of land reforms, the promotion of women in political organisations, and also the creation of cultural institutions such as INAH (Dawson 1998:300; Knight 1994a; Rodríguez 1996:88). Similarly, his interest in the “Indian problem” led to the creation of the *Instituto Indigenista Interamericano* [Inter-American *Indigenista* Institute] (III) in 1942 and the *Instituto Nacional Indigenista* [National *Indigenista* Institute] (INI) in 1947. It has been argued that *Indigenismo* was the most important strategy, mainly upheld by the social reforms of President Cárdenas. As seen in Chapter 2, *Indigenismo* formed an integral part of the state’s ideology. Interestingly this process can be observed in the production of iconography on postage stamps and currency. Although in this period the archaeological iconography repeated some of the main motifs of the latter period, a new set of new images was added which evidenced a dramatic change. Despite the fact that stamps

continued to be dominant, a radical transformation in banknotes evidenced a rupture within the ideology of nationalism in the nineteenth century.

ABNC's Banknotes: A Transition

The American Bank Note Company of New York (ABNC) manufactured banknotes for the Bank of Mexico since 1925 (Bátiz 1985:20; Díaz and Turrent 2004a). The ABNC also produced notes for other countries at the dawn of the twentieth century, such as Colombia, Bolivia, Ecuador, Nicaragua, and Venezuela. The ABNC had a standardised design which combined a general frame including vignettes of classic Greco-Roman allegories such as Wisdom (see for example: Bruce and Shafer 2001). Mexico, as part of its internationalisation and modernisation in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, shared this classical model, and allowed its banknotes to be depicted in the same manner. The allegories were generally depicted on the front of the note, and in addition, an image of the country's choice was represented on the reverse. In the first issue of Mexican notes (1925) the motif on the obverse was actually one of these classic vignettes while the Monument to Independence was depicted on the reverse. In this way, Mexican independence was subordinated to a universal classical European cultural symbol. However, a gradual change began to take place at the time when the second and third series were issued (1936-1937). While the general layout was virtually the same, Mexico began to introduce its own national motifs. From these issues Mexico changed the ideal of a universal character and instead asked the ABNC to include national heroes of the Independence, Revolution, and even some pre-Hispanic personages (to compare images of notes see for example: Bruce and Shafer 2001; Douglas 2003; Douglas, et al. 1982).

Amongst the archaeological iconography two notes stand out, both for their design and the fact that they were issued as compulsory banknotes (the previous notes were free will acceptance) (Díaz and Turrent 2004a:127) . In 1936 the first purely nationalist pre-Hispanic design was portrayed on the front of a note. It consisted of the effigy of Cuauhtémoc, while El Castillo of Chichén Itzá was depicted on the reverse [DD 820; B 708b]. Another note including archaeological iconography was released in parallel. The Stone of the Sun was depicted on the front of a One Peso note while the Monument to Independence was shown on the reverse [DD 295; B 59].

Although nationalism had been devoted to the Aztec culture, it is worth mentioning that the release of the note containing El Castillo (the main pyramid at the Mayan site of Chichén Itzá) was one of the few occasions when Mayan culture appeared on a banknote (Figure 8). This might be explained by the U.S. presence in the Maya area, especially at Chichén Itzá. From the middle of the nineteenth century various North American diplomats, travellers, and researchers were interested in exploring the Mayan sites. The Carnegie Institution began a long-term archaeological project in the Maya area in the 1920s, in which Chichén Itzá was a central site (Weeks and Hill 2006:577-653). In parallel, the Mexican government sent archaeologists to work at Chichén Itzá (Peña 2001:164). While the North Americans were focused on different sectors of Chichén Itzá, the Mexican government began exploration precisely at El Castillo pyramid in the 1930s. These notes together brought into circulation two of the most popular nationalist icons to date (Cuauhtémoc and the Stone of the Sun) and a third (El Castillo), functioning as a nationalist message and a warning to the Americans that Chichén Itzá belonged to the Mexicans, despite the USA's growing interest in the area. These two notes were for more than 35 years the only ones which depicted archaeological monuments, although other three notes were launched with the image of the Myth of Foundation (for example [DD 753; B 50]; see Chapter 5, section Myth of Foundation).



Figure 8. Reverse of 1,000 pesos note depicting the Pyramid of El Castillo at Chichén Itzá. The note has been edited to highlight the archaeological features.

The use of pre-Hispanic iconography on coins followed the same basic iconography seen in notes. In 1943 a bronze coin was released with an image of the Pyramid of the Sun at Teotihuacan, and was in circulation for over 30 years [KM 439, 440, 441] (Figure 9). This coin is interesting in many respects, but especially because of the cultural landscape that this image *invented*. There are some compositions that seem to transgress the sense of space. Landscapes and cultural sites are forced to give up their actual location in order to feed nationalist ideals. Such seems to be true in the case of this coin portraying the Pyramid of the Sun as a central motif. On both sides are depicted a number of cacti. These plants have been one of the favourite plants used to illustrate the Mexican landscape; indeed, they are the national plants par excellence. A Phrygian cap with the word *freedom* is located at the top, from which emanate light rays that appear to expand the word *freedom*. The volcanoes Iztaccíhuatl and Popocatepetl (two natural emblems of Mexico City), which delimit the eastern portion of the Valley of Mexico, are located on the back of the coin. It is in this detail that I would argue that an *invented* national ideal can be seen. This landscape is artificial: Teotihuacan is located to the north of Mexico City, in a place where is not possible to have the perspective of the two volcanoes in the background. In fact, the location that the coin illustrates corresponds to the current position of Mexico City, where it is possible to obtain this view. In fact, being even more precise, the backdrop shown on this coin for the Pyramid of the Sun of Teotihuacan actually corresponds to that seen from location of the main buildings of the Mexica city of Tenochtitlan, -Templo Mayor-, at Mexico City. This invented landscape has been a favourite of the nation State. For example, during the celebrations of the bicentenary of the independence (September 2010), this composition was reproduced in a display of multicoloured lights, however, rather than the Pyramid of the Sun, the Mexica Foundation Myth (the Eagle devouring a snake) was placed in the centre (Figure 10).



Figure 9. A 20 cents coin depicting Teotihuacan in an imagined landscape [KM 439]



Figure 10. Mexico's 2010 Bicentennial Celebrations, Mexico City. The volcanoes and the Myth of Foundation

The issue of a new coin portraying Cuauhtémoc shows the growing interest of the elites in the use of pre-Hispanic iconography as a political tool. In 1947 a silver coin was released [KM 465] which featured Cuauhtémoc in profile, with a large feathered headdress and abundant paraphernalia on his neck and ears. As discussed in detail in the next chapter, this coin was launched to counter the finding of the Spanish first conquistador, Hernán Cortés' human remains in 1946, during a heated debate throughout the 1940s between *Hispanistas* and *Indigenistas*, the

first supporting Spanish-European heritage and the latter claiming the superiority of the native cultural heritage (Jiménez Moreno 1962; Moreno Toscano 1980:21-24). Whereas the *Hispanistas* supported the finding of Hernán Cortés' human remains, the *Indigenistas* pleaded for the discovery of Cuauhtémoc's human remains. The continued failure to locate Cuauhtémoc's bones was appeased with the release of this coin. However, two years later, in 1949, Cuauhtémoc's remains were *supposedly* discovered at Ixcateopan, a small town in Guerrero, western Mexico (Gillingham 2005; Jiménez Moreno 1962). Thereafter, a new coin portraying Cuauhtémoc was issued in 1950, also in silver [KM 449]. The portrait of Cuauhtémoc was changed in this coin. The face of the last Mexica emperor denoted a strange character, weak, with his long hair slicked down. This coin was minted on just two occasions (1950 and 1951). After further analysis, it was demonstrated that the presumed remains of Cuauhtémoc were fake (a detailed discussion is given in Chapter 5). New coins bearing the former image of Cuauhtémoc were released afterwards [KM 450].

In contrast to currency, stamps were actually the bearers of identity in which post-revolutionary *indigenismo* found one of its more sophisticated manifestations. In this period three postage stamp series were released under the titles *Air Post Stamp* series (1934-1937, 1944-1947), the *Nameless* series (1934-1946), and the *Architecture and Archaeology* series (1950-1975). As a whole these series represented a considerable change in the motifs displayed, and in fact introduced *indigenista* ideas through the images. The spirit of post-revolutionary nationalism was therefore seen in action. It was in this series that, for the first time, a new set of images was depicted. Pre-Hispanic monuments (other than Teotihuacan, Cuauhtémoc, and the Stone of the Sun), Colonial, Modern, and, surprisingly, indigenous groups were also included. These series were the most aligned with *indigenista* of all stamp series produced up to this time.

Air Post Stamp Series of 1934-1935

The Air Post Stamp Series of 1934-1935 included some images that had been printed in the previous Air Post Stamp Series, but incorporated some that were new. It contained 24 stamps in total, corresponding to the Modern (25%) and pre-Hispanic (75%) periods. The pre-Hispanic imagery includes 18 stamps with stylised archaeological features. Because these were airmail stamps the designs are related to "airspace", such as the Aztec Bird Man [SC C70, C137 and C174], Eagle Man and Airplanes [SC C139, C176], and Eagle Man and Landscape [SC C132,

C177a, C68, C76a, C80 and C81]. An interesting image of the god Mictlantecuhтли, Lord of Mictlán, the Aztec underworld [SC C65, C133 and C170], is also included. From the previous series two images are repeated, the Tláloc of Teotihuacan [SC C134 and C171] and the stylised pyramid and pottery of Michoacán [SC C138 and C175].

Nameless Series (1934-1947)

The Nameless series included 49 stamps depicting Colonial (6%), Modern (63%), and archaeological monuments (31%). It also introduced images of indigenous peoples such as the Yalalteca India of Oaxaca [SC 707] and Tehuana India of Puebla [SC 708], who had been ignored by the previous stamp series. Regarding the pre-Hispanic category 15 stamps were introduced: the National Coat of Arms [SC 719, 800 and 850], the Temple of Mitla, Oaxaca [718, 799 and 849]; the Cross of Palenque [SC 711, 712, 733, 735, 788 and 844], and the Stone of Tizoc [SC 717, 798 and 848].

Architecture and Archaeology (1950-1975)

In 1950 the series *Architecture and Archaeology* was launched for the first time, marking a major change. In addition to its highly aesthetic appeal and artistic innovation, it would be of great importance because it was released over a period of twenty five years. This series consisted of 98 images depicting archaeological, colonial, and modern monuments. It also included representations of people from modern life, handicrafts, and dances. The images can be categorised as Pre-Hispanic (29%), Colonial (20%) and Modern (51%). The archaeological sites depicted included Bonampak, La Venta, Tamuin, Templo Mayor, and Tamuin, in San Luis Potosi (Figure 11). The latter was surprisingly the only site depicted which belonged to a culture beyond the core Mesoamerican groups. However, in contrast to the Nameless series, the *Architecture and Archaeology* began to turn toward a more neutral use of the past, that is, a celebration of past glories without necessarily passing through the indigenous present. Moreover, with this series the new objective of the promotion of tourism began to emerge.



Figure 11. The adolescent of Tamuin of the Architecture and Archaeology Stamp Series [C192]. Actual object photographed at the MNA.

In short, this period was characterised by a new base of nationalism in which there was a more evident interest in the inclusion of images that sought to break with the previous regime. The production of the new banknotes during the emerging phases of revolutionary ideology spread a new way of disseminating national history, where the pre-Hispanic past had a role of paramount importance. Nevertheless, while the Aztec images continued to be used, of greatest importance was the rejection of the classical model of the ABCN banknotes; the nationalistic feeling which emerged gave personality to Mexican notes. However, it is above all in the use of the stamps where a significant change can be observed. All the three series were launched to represent a nationalist ideology, where the function of *indigenismo* was extremely significant; the creation of an inclusive Mexico was in the making.

Third Period (1958-1982)

It has been claimed that from 1958 onwards archaeology was transformed into an ideological tool for the service of the Mexican state (Rodríguez 1996:91; 2004:30) (see Chapter 2). Although academic archaeology had been practiced beyond the interest of elites, the resources to complete work were usually subject to the desires of the president in office; therefore, the practice of archaeology met political ends. This has been termed "circumstantial archaeology" (*arqueología coyuntural*) (Morelos, et al. 1991:15-28), and has been present in the creation of special projects to fulfil the political needs of the six-year presidential terms. There is no question that archaeology was an essential part of nationalism, yet increasing interest from the president transformed its most visible aspects into a propaganda tool. Stamps, coins, and notes were especially susceptible to reflecting this political propaganda which was not necessarily related to post-revolutionary nationalism.

“Old Fashioned” Iconography (1958-1978)

Unlike earlier periods, during this time definitive series of stamps ceased to be the more important media used in the reproduction of nationalism. The series *Architecture and Archaeology* was in circulation for a substantial part of this period (until 1975). It is important to mention that the images included in the series corresponded to objects that eventually became part of the new museography at the MNA. That is, the images that had circulated in the country and abroad since 1950, such as the Tamuin teenager [SC C192], Olmec head [SC 862], and the Giant of Tula [SC 864], would have their official niche in the MNA; even reproductions of the paintings of Bonampak [SC C188] could be seen in the new halls of the museum (Bernal, et al. 1968).

Regarding coins, there are no major changes in iconography. In 1964 a coin of Cuauhtémoc [KM451] was issued with the original portrait of 1947, and Cuauhtémoc was last featured on a coin issued in 1970 [KM 452]; these last two coins were made from copper-nickel. In 1971 the last version of the bronze coin of the Pyramid of the Sun in Teotihuacan [KM 441] was issued. The only new production was a special silver coin released to commemorate the Olympic Games of 1968 [KM 479.1]. This coin contains a stylised version of a pre-Hispanic ball game player superimposed over a schematic reproduction of a ball court. Below this the legend “Games of the 19th Olympiad Mexico 1968” and the Olympic rings were included. The coin has

a clear and simple design that places the image of the pre-Hispanic ball court player in the main position. It is a coin that has remained as a special keepsake for collectors and now commands an exorbitant price. The structural change for archaeology represented by the Olympics is discussed in Chapter 6.

National Banknote Factory of the Bank of Mexico

Notes, unlike coins and stamps, underwent a profound transformation during this third period, from the late 1950s until the early 1980s. The creation of the Banknote Factory of the Bank of Mexico (FBBM) in the late 1960s marked a milestone and subsequent changes in note design (Díaz and Turrent 2004b; Lizalde 1999:98-127). As mentioned above, until this time Mexican notes were manufactured by the ABNC which had homogenised notes to a general style shared by several different countries. In contrast, the FBBM introduced a number of major changes that transformed the whole design of Mexican paper money, nationalising both the production and the designs.

In 1969 the first issue of banknotes produced by the FBBM was released. These notes contained another visual history lecture, linking events of modern Mexico with archaeological sites in chronological order. The first appeared with the image of the War of Independence heroine, Josefa Ortiz de Dominguez and the second with the Independence leader, Father Miguel Hidalgo; both notes included a stylised depiction of the Aztec Myth of Foundation [DD 903; B 62 and DD 952, B 63]. Later, in 1972, a note was issued with the image of yet another independence leader, José María Morelos y Pavón, and an image of the prestigious Saint Nicholas College at Michoacán on the front, representing the beginning of Independence, and on the reverse was an image of the Temple of Quetzalcóatl at Teotihuacan [DD 1097; B 64].

The fourth note was launched in 1973 with the bust of Benito Juárez, hero of the Reformation, on the front, with a view of the National Palace at Mexico City; on the reverse a Mixteca funerary vessel and the façade of the main temple at Mitla were depicted [DD 1208; B 65]. This note was followed in 1974 by a note with the image of Venustiano Carranza, who assumed the presidency in 1917, at the end of the revolutionary period. A secondary image on the front was a reproduction of a work by the Mexican mural painter José Clemente Orozco

called La Trinchera (The Trench). On the reverse of this note, the archaeological site of Tula is represented by the image of a *Chac-mool*, the divine messenger who received and took offerings of human sacrifices to the Sun (Bernal, et al. 1968:66), as well as the zoomorphic friezes of the main pyramid of Tula [DD 1218, B 66] (Figure 12). In 1979, another note was put into circulation bearing the image of Francisco I. Madero, the first president of the troubled times of revolution, on the front. Madero's presidency symbolises the overthrow of the dictator Porfirio Díaz. On the back of this note two Mexica monoliths are depicted. The main image is the Stone of the Sun and the secondary image is the Stone of Tizoc, both of which are related to the Aztec culture [DD 1227; B 69]. The publication of this note marks the end of an era in which historical discourse followed a chronological order, both in the events of modern life, and in a chronological sequence of archaeological cultures.



Figure 12. 100 pesos Notes produced by the FBBN, portraying Venustiano Carranza and a Chac-Mool and friezes at Tula, Hidalgo [DD1228,B66]. The note has been edited to highlight the archaeological features.

In 1976 the first economic crisis in post-war Mexico was declared; according to experts, this crisis had already been announced in economic circles beginning in 1971. This crisis coincided with the issue of an interesting collection of the most beautiful examples of Mexican banknotes that have been produced to the present day; as seen they contain numerous representations of pre-Hispanic iconography. Despite the beauty and historical accuracy of these notes, they were printed in a time when the money was, in practical terms, valueless. These notes, which bore images of archaeological heritage and were more sophisticated and interesting than any Mexican banknotes that had been issued before had been released as bearers of worthless pesos.

Templo Mayor and the re-emergence of Nationalism, 1978-1982

The accidental discovery in the very centre of Mexico City of the sculpture of the goddess Coyolxauhqui in 1978 and the further excavation of Templo Mayor, in the core of the city built by the Aztecs (AD 1325-1521), and of present-day Mexico city, was a trigger for a propagandistic use of archaeological heritage. The presidency of José López Portillo (1976-1982) was characterised by an economic recovery after the crisis of 1976, which was greatly helped by the international oil demand and newly discovered oil reserves in Mexico. After the discovery of Coyolxauhqui, an archaeological project was launched to uncover a significant section of Templo Mayor. This project was partially funded by the economic wealth resulting from the oil boom. Archaeologists used this opportunity of the Templo Mayor excavations to produce some of the most sophisticated and innovative work to date, which has remained a spearhead in the investigation. However, its success cannot be detached from its “circumstantial” condition (see eloquent discussion in Rodríguez 1996:98; Vázquez 1996:209-219). The ideological use that López Portillo made of the findings at the Templo Mayor was so intense that the practice of archaeology came to depend, essentially, on presidential decisions. The link between the Mexica culture and the politicisation of the past found its best metaphor in Templo Mayor; this site was particular relevant to satisfy too many political interests (Vázquez 1996:206).

The excavations of Templo Mayor and economic funding must be understood in the very particular context of two interconnected but unrelated facts. Firstly, the economic oil boom allowed governmental resources to be used to fund the excavation, which in turn implied the

demolition of colonial and modern houses. It had been known since the beginning of the twentieth century, that archaeological remains lay beneath colonial and modern buildings on Mexico City's hearth, there had been no intention of demolishing them. Secondly, there was a lack of credibility in the nationalistic ideology that had been questioned since the late 1960s. Both the oil boom and the crisis in nationalism would provide the ideal context for the Mexican president, always eager to be in the spot light, to launch one of the most intense neo-nationalist campaigns documented in modern times. The findings at Templo Mayor were used as a major propagandistic platform. The then President López Portillo summarises the excitement of the moment:

"On 28th February, 1978, I felt full and round with power: it may have been because of my desire to transform a reality that had concealed the fundamental roots of my Mexico, or rather, the original centre of its history, the mystical scope of its unresolved dialectic tragedy. It seemed to me like a passing opportunity to begin its integration, at least symbolically. We must build a place 'cuata' [twinned] with the original colony, the Zocalo of our Independence, so that all Mexicans will understand that we come from Omeyocan [Sacred Place of Duality for Mexica] — we have to learn to walk on our own two feet whatever direction our future takes us, whatever happens, as a condition of our strength of origin and destiny... And I had the power to rescue that space and to redeem our time... I might not get another opportunity. To discover, to bring into the light: to give form again to the central proportions of our origin. To open our minds as an exceptional nation. And I could do it. I simply had to say "take their houses. Demolish them. And discover by day and by night the Great Temple of the Aztecs" (Matos Moctezuma, et al. 1981:25-27).

The use of notes, stamps, and coins to circulate archaeological imagery reached a peak during late 1970s early 1980s. There is no doubt that all projects of this era were overshadowed by the discovery and excavation of Templo Mayor. The use of archaeological imagery by the state was also triggered by another major coincidence. López Portillo was a declared admirer of Hispanic culture; he had actually written a novel in which he saw himself as the reincarnation of Quetzalcóatl. Indeed, he engraved an image of Quetzalcóatl on the external wall of his house in Mexico (Krauze 1997:418). The findings of the Templo Mayor represented a prime example of state power over archaeology. With López Portillo the largest ever number of Mexica culture images printed on notes, coins, and stamps was seen. After the discovery of the Templo Mayor

(1978), a huge collection of postage stamps, notes, and coins were released to represent the findings from the excavation.

The three commemorative series: devotion to the Mexica in Stamps, Notes and Coins

Unlike the release of definitive stamps series in previous times, in this period three commemorative series were launched to celebrate the discovery. Archaeological iconography was depicted on stamps produced in massive numbers in a short period of time. This had never been seen before and it is unlikely to happen again. The policy of the López Portillo administration sought any possible means to return to the fundamental elements that linked nationalism with the past, particularly the Mexica culture, in the latest attempt to legitimise the nationalism of the post-revolutionary period which had been questioned since the late 1960s (as discussed in Chapter 2). Certainly the political use of Templo Mayor has been a unique event unequalled to date. It is the only time that the findings of an archaeological project have gone to the printers within just a few years of its discovery. Contrasting with previous periods, in this administration there was no definitive series of stamps containing archaeological iconography (the ongoing series was released under the name Mexico Exports (1975-1992) but did not contain the archaeological findings). Instead, three commemorative series were created, one of which was devoted exclusively to the findings of the excavations under the title *Pre-Hispanic Monuments* (1980-1981), and two more including pre-Hispanic codices, the majority of the images being associated with the Mexica culture: *Pre-Hispanic Personages of Mexico* (1980, 1982 and 1987) and *Mexican Indigenous Codex* (1982 and 1987).

Pre-Hispanic Monuments (1980-1981)

This series was released in three issues, two in 1980 and one in 1981. Images of the findings of the Templo Mayor were included. This is the only time in the history of archaeology that a single archaeological site had been depicted on a special commemorative series. The most magnificent objects, both monumental and miniature, were represented. In the first two issues, these include a ceremonial ceramic urn [SC 1208], a shell-spiral carved in stone [SC 1209], the image of Chac-Mool [SC 1210], and the image of the Coyolxauhqui [SC C626], as well as the image of the god Tláloc [SC C625] and a head of the feathered serpent representing Quetzalcóatl [1194] (Figure 13). In the last issue of 1982, an image of Xiuhtecuhtli [SC 1248], a miniature alabaster

reproduction of a deer's head [SC 1249], and a finely carved miniature of a fish in jade [SC 1250] were included.



Figure 13. Head of the feathered serpent of the Pre-Hispanic Monuments Stamps Series [SC 1194].

Pre-Hispanic Personages of Mexico (1980, 1982 and 1987)

This series includes images taken from different codexes. Most correspond to the cultures of central Mexico, specifically the Mexica. In the first issue the images of the Aztec ruler Cuauhtémoc [SC 1201], and poet-warrior Netzahualcoyotl [SC 1202], and the Mixtec-Zapotec ruler Eight Deer Tiger's Claw [SC 1203] (Figure 14) were depicted. The second issue included Tariacuri, a Tarascan ruler [SC 1285]; Mexica ruler Acamapichtli [SC 1286], and the ruler Deer Tiger's Chest Piece [SC 1287]. The third issue was released during the next administration (1987). Images of the last series include stamps of the Aztec god Xolotl [SC 1510], the Texcoco ruler Nezahualpilli [SC 1511], and the Aztec emperor Moctezuma Ilhuicamina [SC 1512].



Figure 14. Pre-Hispanic Personages of Mexico [SC 1203]

Mexican Indigenous Codexes (1982 and 1987)

The last collection of stamps included three images of the 16th century Florentine Codex such as the Astrologer [SC 1290], First Day at School [SC 1291], and the Musicians [SC 1292]. The second series was issued in 1987 under President Miguel de la Madrid. It depicts images from the Mendocino Codex, including scenes of the founding of Tenochtitlan by the Mexica [SC 1520], the Pre-Hispanic Wedding Ceremony [SC 1521], and Moctezuma's Council [SC 1522].

Banknotes and Coins

Regarding banknotes, the political implications were even more complex because two of the pillars of post-revolutionary nationalism were brought together: Lázaro Cárdenas, and the Aztec archaeological heritage. In 1981 a note was released with a portrait of Cárdenas on the front. As mentioned previously, Cárdenas nationalised the oil industry and has long been considered the driving force of cultural and ideological-revolutionary nationalism. This note was also important because of the image of the goddess Coyolxauhqui on the reverse, in which a replica of the twin temples and stone spiral were depicted [DD 1260; B 89] (Figure 15). The colours have also been identified as important marks of identity (Unwin and Hewitt 2001:1021). In the Mexican case, one of the three colours present in the national flag is green, which has popularly been regarded as the nationalistic colour of Mexico. In this context it is highly significant that this note bearing Cardenas and the Coyolxauhqui has been one of the few notes printed in a similar green tone. The original colour of this note was so intense that it later had to be replaced with a lighter one [DD 1288, B 95].



Figure 15. Cardenas and Coyolxauhqui 10,000 pesos note, a replica of the twin temples and stone spiral can be observed [DD 1260; B 89]. The note has been edited to highlight the archaeological features.

During this period five coins were minted bearing pre-Hispanic motifs. Their short period of circulation reflects the atmosphere of political opportunism in which they were released. Of these three coins just one was associated with the Templo Mayor findings. An image of the Mexica goddess Coyolxauhqui [KM 490] was launched in 1982. Although another coin bearing archaeological iconography from Teotihuacan was released, it also showed the presidential influence in the use of archaeological heritage. It is well known that López Portillo was an ardent worshiper of the god Quetzalcóatl. In 1980 a coin with the image of Quetzalcóatl at Teotihuacan [KM 485] was released. It should also be mentioned that a coin depicting the Mayan sculpted disk of Chinkultic [KM 486] was released in 1980. Two further coins completed the series of pre-Hispanic iconography on coins in the 1980s. A coin with the image of Palenque's Head [KM 492], also of Mayan heritage, and an Olmec Head [KM 491] were released in 1983. It was the

second time that Mayan heritage was included in the middle of Aztec effervescence, and the first time that Olmec heritage was included in coins.

The depiction of all these images represented, if not the end, then certainly a period of crisis for post-revolutionary nationalism. This new collection of coins and notes, despite their beauty and historical content, were worthless money because in 1982 the second major economic crisis was declared. The whole collection of notes and coins of this administration, as in the previous one, was devalued. Pre-Hispanic heritage was circulated on the Mexican peso while it remained at one of the lowest levels of parity to the US dollar. Similarly, the huge collection of pre-Hispanic imagery on stamps suffered a kind of symbolic devaluation. Never has any government to date released so many images, and never had the relationship between the revolutionary ideology and archaeology been so intense.

The intrinsic complexity and importance that Templo Mayor has in Mexican archaeology is of major significance. It is practically the only archaeological project in which academic success runs parallel to the needs of the State. Its academic production can be considered as innovative in the interpretation and incorporation of scientific advancements. Examining the importance and impact that it has had on Mexican professional archaeology ~~in-depth~~ is outside the scope of this thesis; however, it is important to stress the contradiction that the findings at Templo Mayor implied in the context of Mexican nationalism. As demonstrated throughout this work, the Mexica (Aztec) culture has been reinforced as a Golden Age, creating a prototype of the pre-Hispanic past through the representation of certain objects, passages, and personages associated with this culture. The great paradox was that while nationalist ideology sought to elevate the status of the Mexica, the archaeological findings at Templo Mayor came at a moment of distinct decline for post-revolutionary nationalism.

Conclusions

The archaeological iconography represented in notes, coins, and stamps confirm that, despite the profound change that the Mexican Revolution had intended to produce, the ideology of the nineteenth century remained the bulwark of Mexican nationalism. The iconography that appeared on currency and stamps in the three periods discussed in this chapter represented three different stages of Mexican nationalism: the nineteenth century ideals of *mestizaje*, the golden age of the 1950s, and the crisis in nationalism of the 1980s. Archaeological iconography was depicted more intensively in the weakest moments of nationalism, but not during its more popular florescence.

Additionally, this chapter has highlighted the fact that stamps and currency have been used in different ways. As a general trend, banknotes and coins have been used more conservatively; in fact, only those themes central to the nationalist Pantheon and foundational fathers, whether real or mythological, are represented over long periods of time, although as seen, some other images were briefly depicted. In contrast, stamps have been used more liberally, as their annual production makes them much more sensitive to temporal, political, and social changes. In particular, the representation of pre-Hispanic themes in the twentieth century was dominated by the release of a large number of stamps. Despite coins were also minted and notes printed bearing pre-Hispanic iconography, it cannot be claimed that they have been the target of a constant production.

In the first period (1909-1934) *Indigenismo*, as a state policy, allowed the creation of archaeology as a means of understanding the past and promoting racial *mestizaje*. This idea was in vogue and was intended to help to create a homogeneous nation. However, the ideological use of archaeological iconography replicated the vision of Porfirio Díaz. In both coins and stamps the myths and monuments that had been created in the last part of the nineteenth century were reproduced. With many variations, the version of the past which had been created in the *Porfiriato* was represented in the iconography during the first third of the twentieth century; and in fact, it is interesting to note that the repetition of these symbols eventually became the central elements of the nationalist Pantheon (as discussed in the next chapter). The post-revolution wave of renovation would have to wait some years to be fully represented either in the currency or the stamps.

In the second period (1934-1958) the nationalisation of different industries (archaeology amongst them) created a new sense of nation and identity. This was reflected in the great diversity of the collection of pre-Hispanic iconography which was depicted on currency and stamps; in fact, it has been the only time where a democratisation of images occurred, including cultures from different areas of Mesoamerica. The use of a stamp series was again important. I have argued that the three stamp series issued at the time evidenced a link between the ideals of post-revolutionary nationalism. The desire to unite the history of Mexico as a whole was partially successful, and the images portrayed on stamps bore witness to this spirit of nationalism. Archaeology began to be a more overtly political tool. The controversy of the Cuauhtémoc human remains showed that the past was a matter of symbolic power. It demonstrated the significance of coins as an official means of sustaining certain ideas about the past. In the same way, the new motifs that Mexico asked the ABNC to include on banknotes reflected the underlying values of strong nationalism which were of political significance. These changes as a whole were not simply slight modifications of the iconography, but rather they were created in order to consolidate the ideology that together with the series of stamps contributed to the ongoing spirit of the creation of a golden era of post-revolutionary nationalism.

The third period (1958-1982) was dominated by the open criticism of the State's *Indigenismo* policies by intellectual thinkers in the late 1960s. This criticism relied on the lack of integration of indigenous communities and the lack of consensus in centralised nationalism. However the State, in its quest for authentication, denied the dissident voices in order to build a more inclusive nationalism. This period reflected contradiction and manipulation in the production of currency and stamps, particularly the depiction of pre-Hispanic iconography. The 1980s was marked by a decrease in the diversity of icons, and the introduction of a greater number of images associated with the Aztec culture. It was represented by a unique collection of stamps, notes, and coins bearing images of objects related to the Aztec culture. This cycle ended when archaeology succumbed to the power of the state, the use of the Templo Mayor by the president in particular as a case of political propaganda. Far from promoting nationalist ideas, this was an abuse of power which did not reflect the changes that the country was undergoing. This crisis in nationalism demonstrates one of its most severe contradictions, in that the notes and coins issued which contained the most precious images of the archaeological past were devalued by the economic crisis (1972 and 1982). As noted, the FBBM produced one of the

collections with the greatest number of pre-Hispanic images in a chronological discourse, in a manner in which the archaeological heritage was clearly and accurately represented. However, the issue of this series at a time of crisis showed that while the State reinforced one of the most significant elements in Mexican identity, a large number of the notes containing pre-Hispanic iconography were literally worthless, as they were launched during the crises of 1972 and 1982.

As seen throughout this chapter, the Aztecs have been a fundamental component of nationalism. Although other cultures such as Olmec, Mixtec, Teotihuacan, or Mayan could be part of the Golden Age, none could compete against the Aztec. Since the end of the nineteenth century nationalism the Aztecs were transformed into the Golden Age of the Nation, and Aztec mythology and associated objects have been appropriated in order to strengthen and justify the origin and permanence of the nation. The Aztecs were chosen as the model and as the stereotype of the pre-Hispanic past (Bueno 2004:49). The Aztecs have had multiple purposes for the nation; they have been used both to project Mexico from abroad through World Fairs (Tenorio 1996b) and also to mystify the origins of the nation, as well as forming part of a sublime propaganda to justify political centralism exerted from Mexico City to the rest of the country. The Aztecs, in addition, have provided the State with a quantity of myths with which to feed banal nationalism (Billig 1995). In addition, this chapter has highlighted three essential archaeological features (the Myth of Foundation, the Stone of the Sun and Cuauhtémoc) which, due to their repetition, have become the basis of the nationalistic pantheon. The next chapter focuses on the national mythology and its relation to the past, and the role of these essential features.

Chapter 5

Aztec Mythology Circulating on Currency and Stamps

As nation-states emerge, the elites use the cultures of the past as a form of political, economic, cultural, and even territorial justification for their position. The past then becomes a powerful ideological resource. The selection of particular past cultures gradually leads to the establishment of a group of objects and myths that are intermingled with the foundational narrative of the nation. These symbols of the past, repeatedly used by the elites, are an important aspect of so-called national mythology. As noted in the previous chapter, in Mexico the official utilisation of pre-Hispanic archaeological cultures was done in order to feed the nationalist discourse.

However, not all pre-Hispanic cultures have been used with the same intensity and frequency. In the discourse of Mexican national mythology the *Aztecs* have been used as a primary example of the cultures of the past, and the *Aztec* era eventually came to represent the “Golden Age” of the nation. In what follows, I shall discuss the manner in which the State has used the *Aztec* culture to create this Golden Age, with particular attention to notes, coins and stamps as the bearers of this nationalist mythology. It will be argued that, rather than considering *Aztec* culture as a whole, the national mythology is based on three myths in particular. The first part of this chapter argues that the use of the word “*Aztec*” reflects a desire by the State to mythologize the history of Mexico. Second, the three essential myths for the making of a national mythology are analysed. These myths are the Founding Myth (the myth of origins), the story of the hero-martyr Cuauhtémoc (myths of decline), and finally the Stone of the Sun (myth of golden age).

Mythologizing History: *Aztec* or *Mexica*?

The term *Aztec* refers to one of the seven tribes who had left a mythical place called Aztlán located somewhere in north-western Mexico, around the twelfth century AD (Castañeda 2007). The *Aztecs* in this mythical journey were looking for a place to settle permanently. The *Tira de la Peregrinacion* (the strip showing the travels) also known as *Boturini Codex*, which is one of the earliest colonial codexes, recounts through pictographs the long journey of the seven tribes. According to the *Boturini Codex*, the *Aztecs* founded many towns, none in a peaceful way. They had violent wars, alliances and betrayals. The *Aztecs* have been associated with nomadic groups, who were bloodthirsty and rapacious barbarians, coming from somewhere far away to the north. Because the *Boturini Codex* is a story told and written by the protagonists, there are passages that blend myth with reality. Archaeologically, it has not been possible to identify Aztlán, so this place essentially maintains its role as part of a pre-Hispanic mythology.

On the other hand, the term *Mexica* refers to a tribe that was created by divine desire. During the pilgrimage from Aztlán this tribe was separated from the main group. The historian Miguel León Portilla, who analysed pre-Hispanic codices and colonial chronicles, mentions that one of the seven tribes that had left Aztlán was led by priest Huitzil. As the codex explains, his tribe was chosen by divine will to become the *Mexica*, as mentioned in the *Monarquía Indiana* [Indian Monarchies] of the Dominican friar, Juan de Torquemada (printed 1615). In it the creation of the new tribe is described with the words "you are already isolated and segregated from others, and so I want as my chosen people; you are no longer named *Aztec* but *Mexica* instead" (León-Portilla 2000:227). León Portilla points out that the term *Mexica* was used extensively from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century by almost all scholars to refer to the tribe that separated from the main group of the *Aztecs*. The *Mexica* would be the group that later founded the ancient city of Mexico-Tenochtitlan (today's Mexico City).

The *Mexica* are nowadays usually referred to as the *Aztec*. The origin of this confusion lies in the important account about Mexico published in 1810 by the historian and explorer Alexander von Humboldt who used the term *Aztec* to refer collectively to all the groups linked by trade, customs, religion, or language to the *Mexica* Empire (Humboldt 1811:I, 90-151). William Prescott, with his book *The Conquest of Mexico*, introduced the same convention in the English speaking world. In fact he mentioned that Tenochtitlan was the *Aztec* capital (Prescott

1893:3-12). Owing to the impact of these publications, the terms *Aztec* and *Mexica* have practically become synonyms beyond Mexico. The term *Aztec* has been used in different languages to include the wide variety of groups which together dominate the valley of Mexico before the Spanish conquest, including the one that founded Mexico-Tenochtitlan (Santamarina 2005:30). The term *Aztec* has overshadowed the term *Mexica*. The case of an exhibition about Moctezuma displayed first in England and later in Mexico makes this point clearer. In the British Museum it was called "Moctezuma: Aztec Ruler" (Sep2009/Jan2010), while in the *Templo Mayor* Museum it was named "Moctezuma II: Time and Fate of a Ruler (Feb 2010/Jan 2011).

Also in Mexico the term *Aztec* has become predominant, and the *Aztecs* have become one of the Golden Ages of the Mexican nation, the imagined past of all Mexicans, even if they live in areas far from where the *Mexica* lived. Most of the iconography depicted on currency and stamps is Aztec. The national football team's nickname is *Aztec*; the largest football stadium, located in Mexico City, is named also *Aztec*. One of the largest broadcasting television companies is the self-proclaimed *TV Azteca*. A huge neighbourhood is called *Ciudad Azteca* (Aztec City). A new underground station is also called *Ciudad Azteca*. The Mexican Mint created a commemorative two-kilo silver coin depicting an engraving of the Stone of the Sun with the legend "*Calendario Azteca*", and has also minted a special collection of commemorative gold coins under the title *Aztec Collection*. A special Mexican breed of horse has been called *Azteca*, and many Mexican restaurants around the world call themselves *Aztec*.

Only among Mexican academics the term *Mexica* is still used instead of *Aztec* to define the group who founded Mexico-Tenochtitlan (Bernal 1980; Chavero 1884; León y Gama 1792; Townsend 2009). The term *Mexica* has also gained broader acceptance both in other academic disciplines and in museum exhibitions. It has been asserted that the term *Mexica* is the most appropriate term to refer the groups that founded Mexico-Tenochtitlan (McEwan and López Luján 2009:21). Despite this, in this chapter the term *Aztec* in this chapter will be maintained, for this term is widely used in reinforcing the preferred metaphor of the nation-state. For this research the term *Aztec* is more closely aligned with the mythological dimensions under study.

The search for nationalistic justification and authentication in Mexican nationalism has been centred on the exaltation of mythological aspects of the past. In this mythology, the Aztec wanderers became the rulers of an empire, which was later destroyed by the Spanish invaders.

Afterwards, the Mexican narrative explains, Mexican independence restored the freedom of indigenous cultures, and the current nation-state maintains this idea of liberation through the profuse use of these myths.

The Enthronement of the Aztecs

In his analysis of Latin-American currency, Joseph Galloy (2000) proposes that the position of an image within the general layout of an object denotes its significance in the composition. The Aztec iconography is the one most frequently represented on coins, stamps, and notes, and also is the one that is depicted in the primary position. For example, in coins the obverse — the most important place — the Myth of Foundation is depicted in all coins (100%). In addition, a substantial quantity of coins (23%) also bears, on the reverse, some feature associated with the Aztecs. In the case of stamps the relationship is quite similar, in that Aztec iconography can be observed on half (50%) of them.

The case of notes is even more interesting, due to the high percentage of Aztec imagery depicted (80%). As explained in Chapter 3, banknotes were classified on the basis of four areas in which motifs are displayed. Generally two images can be seen in the design of a note, both on the reverse and on the obverse (primary and secondary). In the case of the 60 notes analysed, a total of 49 surfaces, either on the reverse, obverse or on both. Interestingly the arrangement of archaeological Aztec iconography on notes recalls the pyramidal ideology that the Mexican writer, Octavio Paz (1914-1998) critiqued severely in his celebrated book *Postdata* (Paz 1970).

Paz, through the application of psychoanalysis to the study of history, discusses the complex problem of having two Mexicos, the developed and the developing one. The first is linked to ancestral inheritance, the latter to the rush to adopt western culture. This false dichotomy, created and sustained by politicians, economists, and intellectuals, has created a fictional country represented by the existence of a *pyramidal ideology* that recalls the Aztec power structure (*ibid*:113-119). According to Paz the pyramid is petrified time, a place of divine sacrifice. It is also the image of the Aztec state, its continuity, source of the life, and the place to sacrifice prisoners of war. The top of the pyramid represents a sacred space where the dance of the gods is performed, and is also the place of the sacrifice. For Paz, this Aztec idea has never disappeared, and in Mexico this same model prevails. Mexico City represents the top of the pyramid, while the base is the rest of the country (*ibid*:120-121). One of the most interesting

arguments in Paz's critique is the idea that the past is always present; the past reappears because it is the hidden part of the present (*ibid*:111). This metaphor is manifested in the continuing authoritarian and despotic power in contemporary Mexico, which according to Paz has been perpetuated and inherited from the pre-Hispanic rulers (called in Nahuatl *Tlatoani*), inspired by Aztec ideology.

There is an interesting parallel between the ideological pyramid in banknotes, coins, and stamps and Paz's critique of the pyramid in society. For example, in notes, it is even more evident that the Aztec culture is the only one represented on the obverse as the primary image on banknotes, appearing seven times (top). On the contrary, the secondary image on the reverse — the lowest value in terms of representation on a note — contains the widest range of imagery of pre-Hispanic cultures. There are six different archaeological cultures represented sixteen times in the sample of items (bottom). The importance of the presence of pre-Hispanic iconography increases according to its vertical location in the figure. According to this representational scheme of the pyramid, it seems that those motifs represented more frequently near the top of the pyramid have more importance. Multiple representations of different cultures on the reverse (bottom) led to the elevation of a single culture on the obverse (top): the *Aztec* (Figure 16).

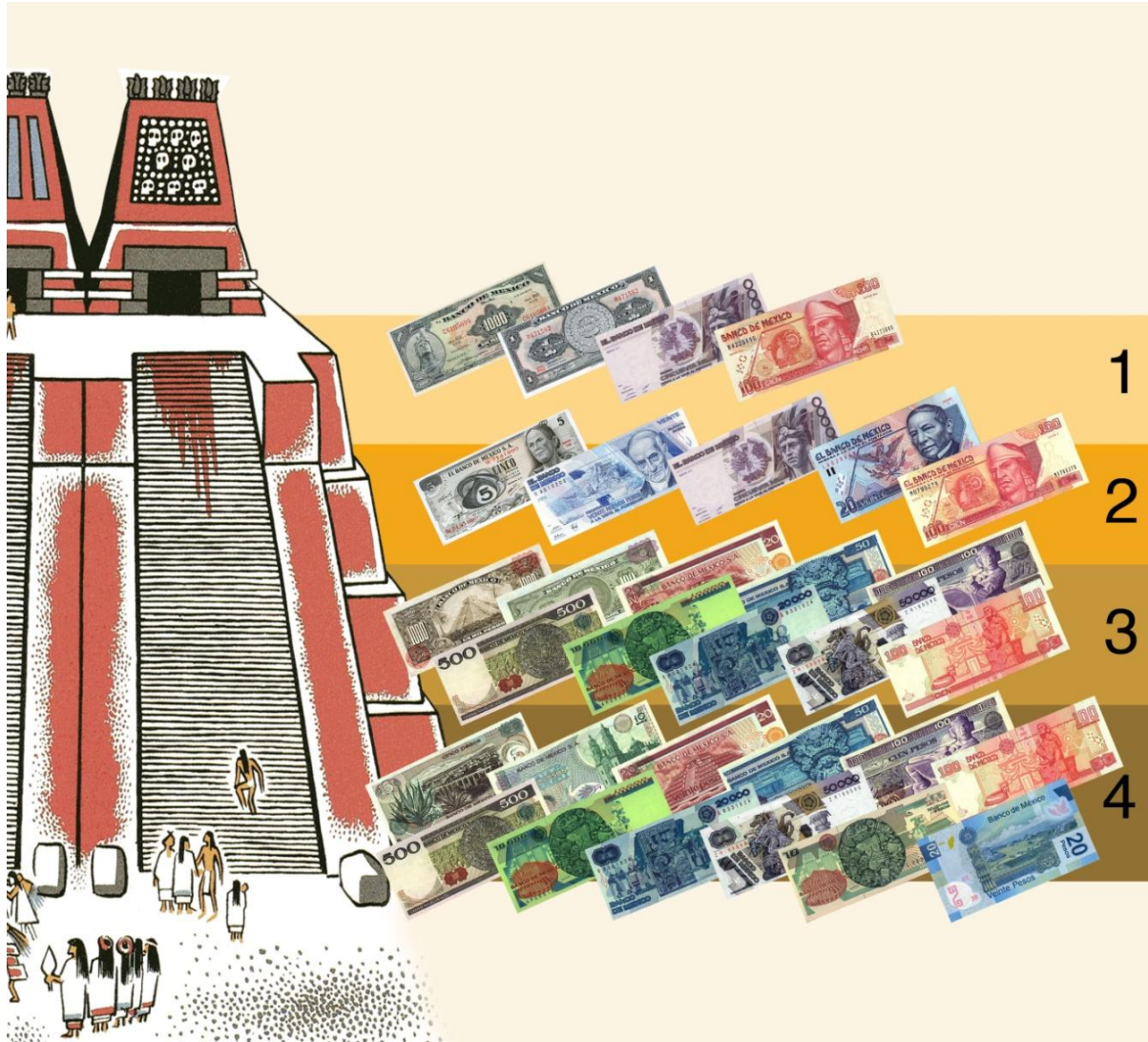


Figure 16. Image to show the enthronement of the Aztec as the Golden Age culture in banknotes (drawing modified from Caso 1958:86).

Despite the fact that Aztec iconography has dominated the representation of the past, not all aspects of Aztec heritage have been used in the same proportion, and even within this cultural group some icons have been used more persistently in the making of the national mythology. The next sections in this chapter will analyse the frequency a series of Aztec iconographic icons have been used in the last century in coins, banknotes and stamps, and will explore which ones have been resilient to changes in contemporary political context. These resilient iconographic icons have become symbols of “Mexicaness” and have been transformed into representatives of the

nation. According to the results of this research, the most represented symbols either in currency or stamps are: the Founding Myth of Tenochtitlan (236 times), the last Aztec ruler Cuauhtémoc (21 times), and The Stone of the Sun (29 times), which altogether represent more than half of the archaeological depictions in stamps, notes, and coins (49.56% of a total of 577 items analysed).

A Myth of Origins: The Aztec Founding Myth

The image of the Myth of Foundation is represented by an eagle perched on a cactus eating a snake, whilst on a rock in the middle of a lake. No other symbol in the history of Mexico has had the strength and permanence of this particular metaphor, nor could any other item synthesise what Anthony Smith calls the myth of origins (Smith 1986). Through many historical periods the Myth of Foundation has served the interests of different groups, and has been the symbol of the emergence of Mexico as an independent country. Since the war of independence this myth of foundation has been adopted as a national symbol. It was stamped on a Mexican coin for the first time in 1825, eventually becoming included in the National Coat of Arms. Over almost two centuries it has been used in different ways such as the national flag, buildings, official sculptures, and master works of art sponsored by the government. The Founding Myth has been used as a symbol of power, freedom, resistance, and political and economic independence.

Archaeology of the Myth of Foundation

The main features of the image were taken from Founding Myth tale in which the Mexica, following the orders of their god Huitzilopochtli, founded the ancient city of Tenochtitlan in A.D. 1325 (currently known as *Templo Mayor*, in Mexico City). Throughout the sixteenth century the central components of this symbol were re-interpreted, creating slightly different representations, but keeping its foundational ethos. Some authors mention that the image of the eagle on the prickly pear cactus was used as a symbolic element of indigenous resistance during the Spanish colonial era. Nevertheless, since Independence the myth has acquired a greater popularity, being used as a political symbol of resistance against the Spaniards. The original depiction has passed through many transformations, and while its essential key symbols have remained, the image itself has changed significantly.

The oldest archaeological evidence for this myth can be found in the sculpture known as “*Teocalli* of the Sacred War”. This is a votive pyramid-shaped sculpture discovered in 1831 and now on display in the National Museum of Anthropology of Mexico City that has engravings over all of its sides. It is believed that the *Teocalli* celebrates the triumph of the sun in the universe and legitimises the power of the Aztecs after the founding of their city (Townsend 2009:117). It was made to commemorate the *New Fire Ceremony* of 1507, which took place during the reign of Moctezuma II (1502-1520). The scene of the Myth of Foundation is engraved

on the Teocalli's back (Figure 17). It contains six principal elements: 1) an eagle, facing right; 2) an *atl-tlachinolli*, the symbol of warfare (some interpret this as a representation of human hearts); 3) a prickly pear cactus, 4) the fruit of the prickly pear cactus, 5) a lake, and finally 6) the representation of *Tlaltecuhтли*, the Earth goddess (Matos Moctezuma 2009:47).

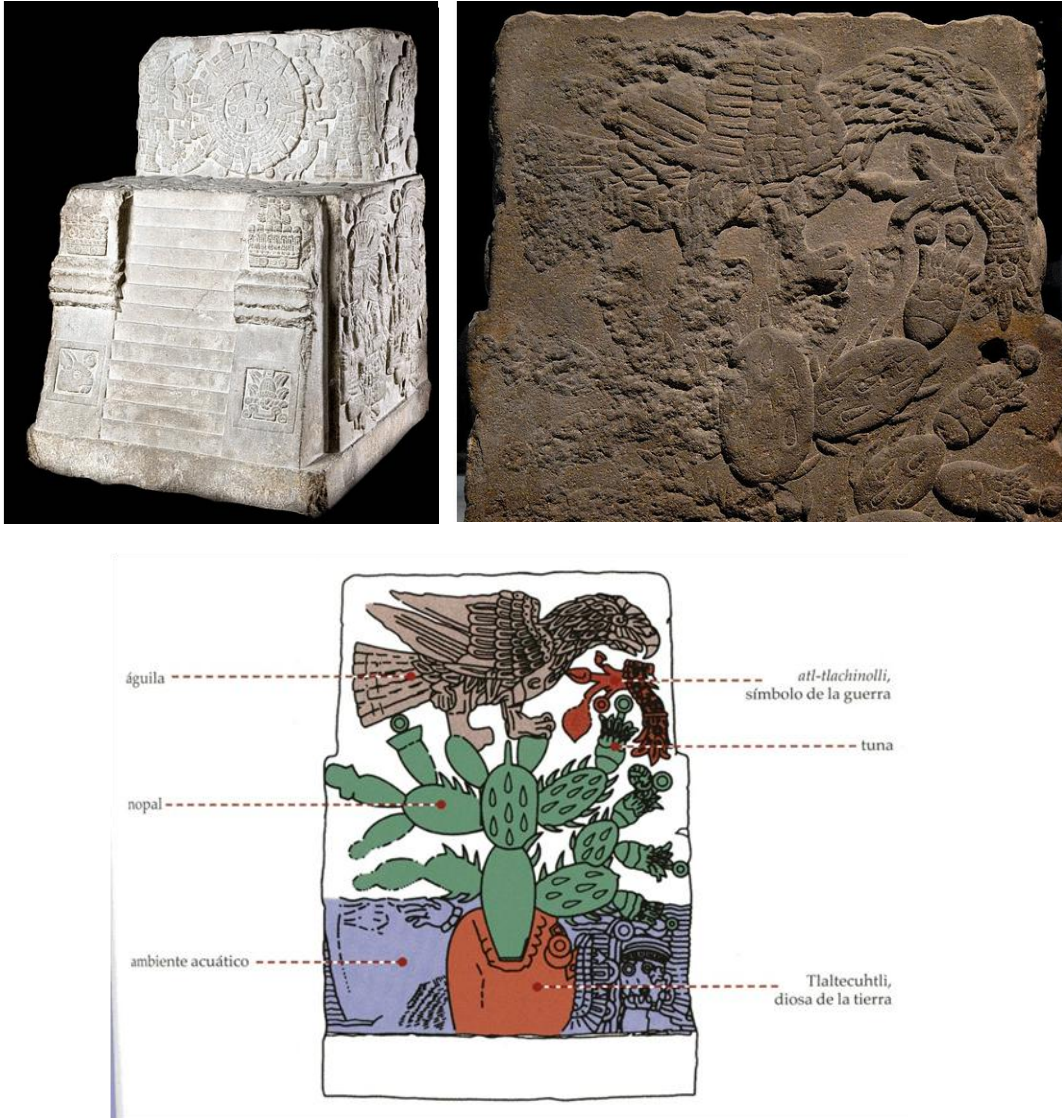


Figure 17. Archaeological representation of the Founding Myth AD 1507 (figures Modified from Ibid:47)

Early sixteenth century codex iconography of the founding myth is very rich, with some variations in style. The image suffered one of its first alterations in the Mendoza Codex (1541-

1542); it was depicted without the warfare symbol, although the other main attributes were kept (Figure 18). In an early codex compiled by Friar Diego Duran (1560) the image was dramatically transformed. Although the main elements are depicted, the warfare symbol was replaced by a serpent. It is important to recognise that this is the first time that the design depicts the image of the eagle devouring a serpent (Figure 19). After this time, the image has always appeared with the serpent. In the Codex Aubin (1576) as well as the Tovar Codex (also known as the Ramirez Codex, dated to 1585), the eagle devouring the serpent can also be seen.



Figure 18. Eagle without the warfare symbol, as depicted in the Mendoza Codex (1541-1542).



Figure 19. The Duran Codex (1560), in which a serpent appears for the first time (Caso 1958:91) -drawing by recognized artist Miguel Covarrubias.

Serpents and snakes were part of the ideology of pre-Hispanic cultures, which implies that if the original depiction was meant to include a serpent, it would have appeared in the earlier composition. However, in this particular case, it seems that the serpent is a Spanish addition to the native narration. It is believed that the *nahuatl* spelling of the warfare symbol was confused with the spelling of the word *serpent*, and, conveniently for the friars, it was transformed into the serpent of the Bible. The eagle (a sacred animal for the indigenous population, with a positive connotation in western thought) defeated the evilness that the serpent represented. This is one of the earliest examples of cultural syncretism between the Old and the New Worlds.

Representations of the myth have undergone several modifications in style since that time, though it has maintained its fundamental colonial elements: eagle, serpent, prickly pear, prickly pear fruit, rock, and lake. Another change occurred when, in the constitution of 1824 the eagle was decreed to be part of the National Coat of Arms, appearing in front view with extended wings rather than facing right in profile, as it had been traditionally depicted. Also in this legislation the leaves of laurel and live oak (*encino*) were added in the lower part of the composition. Both are European plants, and are associated with force and victory. In 1934 another radical transformation occurred when the position of the eagle was inverted, appearing in profile facing left, but maintaining the other essential attributes. In 1968 further legislation, although not introducing substantial changes, altered the characteristics of the symbols, in particular giving a more detailed form and transforming the serpent into a rattle snake (Aguilar,

et al. 2004:65). In 1984 some smaller modifications were introduced, and although particular details have changed, the design has not greatly been altered (Figure 20).



Figure 20. Current National Coat of Arms based on the Aztec Myth of Foundation

The Eagle in Circulating Currency and Stamps

The eagle on the cactus has featured in Mexico's history for nearly two centuries. It is a quintessential graphic element in political culture, and a ubiquitous symbol with political presence from former Independence claims until the present day. However, the essential qualities of this symbol which have been appropriated by the nation have been related to the original theme of foundations. The most basic metaphor is the physical occupation of a new settlement, and therefore, the original departure point of the nation. The existence of the nation is based ideologically on the continuity of ancient Aztec culture. The eagle on the prickly pear is the common denominator in the equation of the Mexican identity. It always combines and matches with anything else. It is the primary element of nation building. Its representation on currency and stamps has been one of the natural ways in which ideology has circulated freely around the country. It strengthens the deepest symbolic roots of the nation and gives an important link between the past and the present.

Coins and the Myth of Foundation

The Myth of Foundation appears as the main image on all coins since 1824. As mentioned above, the Founding Myth image has been depicted in all of the 181 coins analysed in the present study, as well as on six banknotes and fifty stamps. It is represented in almost half of the items with archaeological iconography, dating from 1905 until 2010, which were analysed for the present research (46% of 507 items). Joseph Galloy has claimed that representing this symbol as a national coat of arms in all currencies is a significant indication of the intention to create a unified image of the nation. This symbol implicitly contains the message of sovereignty in which the demands for autonomy by divergent groups is eliminated for the sake of the nation-state (Galloy 2000:31). This interpretation seems to be correct in Mexico, as this has been one of the ideological symbols used for the claims of independence from Spain. The Founding Myth depicted on coins has transcended political differences between the factions that have dominated the country and coins therefore portray and reproduce this sovereignty and independence over time (Figure 21).



Figure 21. Obverse of coins depicting the Myth of Foundation (Type I, III and VIII)

Banknotes and the Myth of Foundation

In banknotes the depiction of the Myth of Foundation has been associated with two moments in particular: Independence (three appearances) and the Reform Laws (three appearances), appearing on six notes in total. Thus, the micro-history embedded in these notes demonstrates that the eagle is associated only with the most outstanding characters, namely Miguel Hidalgo and Benito Juarez and key events in modern history. The first occurrence of the Foundation Myth on a modern banknote is on the reverse side of a note which depicts Miguel Hidalgo (the Father of the Patria) on the front [DD 753; B 50]. This note had a long-lasting circulation, as it belonged to one of the largest issues of the ABNC (1945-1973) (Figure 22).



Figure 22. Miguel Hidalgo and the Myth of Foundation portrayed on the. ABNC's 100P note [DD 753; B 50]. The note has been edited to highlight the archaeological features.

Equally significant is that the first inaugural note produced for the Mexican Banknote Factory was a reinterpretation of this earlier ABNC note [DD 952; B 63]. However, in the new banknote a more streamlined design of the symbolic elements is depicted. Hidalgo is still depicted on the front together with an eagle which, although not perched on the cactus, is a clear reference to the eagle of the Founding Myth (Figure 23).

The other constant appearance of the eagle has been on the three banknotes depicting the Mexican president, Benito Juárez [DD 1299; B 100], whose participation in the overthrow of the empire of Maximilian and the enactment of the Reform Laws — a political reform which dissociated religious and political power — is still celebrated as one of the most important political events in modern history of Mexico (Figure 24).



Figure 23. Hidalgo and the Eagle. Mexican Banknote Factory's note [DD 952; B 63]. The note has been edited to highlight the archaeological features.



Figure 24. Benito Juárez and the Founding Myth Front [DD 1299; B 100].

Stamps and the Myth of Foundation

On stamps the eagle has been used in a more flexible way. In this analysis 50 stamps were identified which feature the Foundation Myth. In most examples, it is reproduced in its capacity as a national symbol that is as the logo of official institutions, therefore reinforcing the idea of the political ancestry of the nation. However, at other times, it is used to represent more overtly the communion between the present and the past (see Figure 25).



Figure 25. Representations of the Founding Myth [SC C14, 684 and C224].

In one interesting stamp (see Figure 26) this metaphor is superbly synthesised: a scene of the Myth of Foundation, excerpted from the Duran Codex, is depicted on the centre, together with a legend that contains the text “1325 Tenochtitlan – Mexico 1975” on the left margin. This apparently innocuous fact is used to reaffirm the historical continuity between the pre-Hispanic past and present realities of Mexico.

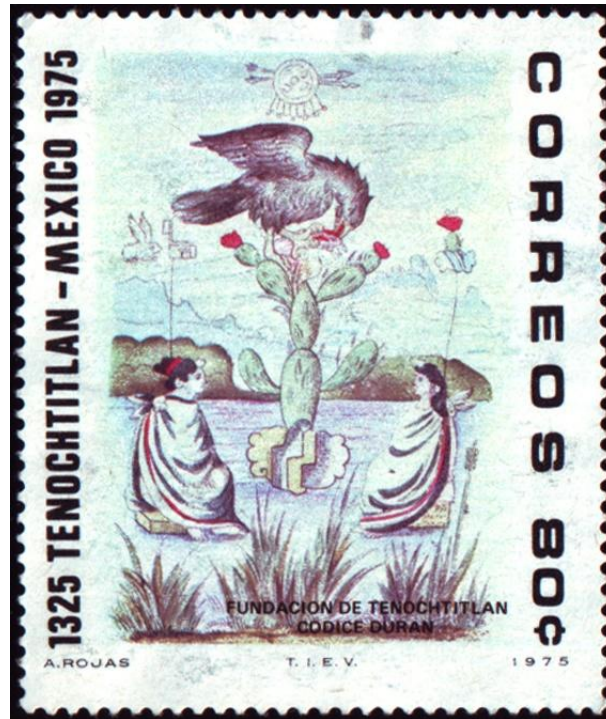


Figure 26. The myth of Foundation unifying the past and the present [SC 1087]

To sum up, in Mexico there is no other myth that links the reality of the present nation with a foundational ancient myth in this manner. There is no other symbol having the strength, communion, ubiquity, and the legal, political, and cultural presence exhibited by the Aztec Foundation Myth. As mentioned, in modern times this symbol has become one of the official symbols of the nation (together with the National Anthem and the Flag), and it is significant that there is a legal prohibition against reproducing it. The nation-state has the absolute right to use or modify the symbol; copying or unauthorised reproductions may be subject to legal action. In addition to the subtle forms of banal nationalism on coins, it is interesting to note that a life-sized bronze sculpture depicting the Foundational Myth is located next to the Zócalo at the core of Mexico City. The sculpture represents the essential elements of the eagle (wings open) and the scene of its discovery by the Aztecs. It is a petrified tale that can be seen, touched and admired, jumping out of the underground (Figure 27).



Figure 27. Myth of Foundation's sculpture, Mexico City (2008)

A Myth of Decline: Cuauhtémoc

Cuauhtémoc (1496-1525), meaning in *nahuatl* "The Descending Eagle", was the tenth and last Aztec *Tlatoani* honoured for his bravery and resistance against the Spaniards. His historical transcendence lies largely in the context of his time. The sixteenth century saw an abrupt change in the cultural history of the region. Cuauhtémoc's last defence of Tenochtitlan marked the official day when Mesoamerican civilisations were defeated, and the beginning of the new European colonisation in America. He is the best-known of the Aztec *Tlatoani*, as the Spanish soldiers knew him, because he was held prisoner by Cortés for over five years. In fact, there are abundant literary and historical references to Cuauhtémoc in captivity (Lira 1991). His last battle, and his capture by Cortés' men, is the main reason that he is best remembered and has entered the pantheon of national heroes.

"The Torment of Cuauhtémoc" (Leandro Izaguirre, 1893) is a painting representing another part of the story that Cuauhtémoc is remembered for. In the painting Cuauhtémoc is being tortured by a group of Spaniards. The Aztec ruler is tied to a stone throne, while his feet are burning on a pyre. The tale relates that Cuauhtémoc was tortured in order to force him to confess to the hiding place of the purported treasure of Moctezuma (the ruler at the time of the Spanish arrival). Cuauhtémoc, despite the suffering, did not reveal the whereabouts of the treasure (whether he knew the location or not). The "Torment of Cuauhtémoc" was ordered by the government to be displayed at the Chicago International Fair (1893). This painting embodies the official version of this story, and the essential elements transforming Cuauhtémoc into a national hero-martyr. The refusal to reveal the location of the treasure, and his heroic defence of Tenochtitlan, have been key elements of his entrance to the national pantheon, and have been the aspects of his story most notably depicted on currency and stamps.

History and Archaeology of Cuauhtémoc

An interesting fragment of a primary school history textbook synthesises the rhetorical power of Cuauhtémoc's last battle. This book was compulsory at the end of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The fragment in question highlights the moment when Cuauhtémoc

surrenders to Cortés. Historian Justo Sierra, who was part of the intellectual elite of the Porfirio Díaz government, vividly depicts it, writing that

“the assault lasted three months, the city destroyed, house by house, burned the temple by temple, fought canoe by canoe, beaten warrior by warrior; scared of that heroic defence, Cortés proposed to make the peace up several times, however Cuauhtémoc always rejected it, when there were only corpses and ruins on the streets, when there were only a few roots and bugs to eat, when he had no more than a piece of Tlatelolco to defend, when he became convinced that his gods declared themselves defeated, when he had no faith or no hope, Cuauhtémoc rejected again to make the peace up. In the last horrific combats the grunting sounds of his snail shell military trumpet of war could be heard, like the last roar of a lion in agony. Once he was caught and made prisoner he was brought before Cortés: ‘Malinche, [Cuauhtémoc said touching the dagger at Cortés belt], kill me with this knife, since I cannot save my throne and my land’”. Sierra asserts that in that precise moment the Aztec eagle fell forever (Sierra 1905:48-49).

Cuauhtémoc has been one of the historical figures most often used by elites in the creation of Mexican nationalism. The descriptions of his stoic defence and courage, and his refusal to confess to where the supposed treasure was hidden, have transformed him into a symbol of resistance, courage, and wisdom. The many representations of Cuauhtémoc reflect his heroic fall and his stoicism. However, unlike his straight-forward historical portrait, archaeological discussion of him has been more complex.

Cuauhtémoc has been the subject of the most conflicting academic and political dispute that ever has been recorded in the history of Mexican archaeology (Gillingham 2005; Hanke 1965; Matos Moctezuma 1980, 2006; Moreno Toscano 1980). As part of the new nationalist spirit that prevailed in Mexico, in 1949 an archaeological project was proposed with the aim of confirming whether human remains located in the local church of Ixcateopan, Guerrero, belonged to Cuauhtémoc, as local villagers had claimed. Despite the fact that this information was apparently inaccurate and subject of historical distortion (Gillingham 2005:561). It was determined that the remains might be buried in the village chapel. An excavation was carried out in 1949 by historian, teacher, and archaeologist Eulalia Guzmán (1890-1985), in which human remains found were associated with Cuauhtémoc. Guzman’s finding was applauded by prominent archaeologists of the time. The famous and prolific painter, Diego Rivera (1886-1957), arrived to draw a sketch of the skeleton. On a desk was placed a blanket, and on this the alleged skeleton. Rivera then made some drawings in an attempt to reconstruct his physical

appearance (Fulton 2008:27). The complexities and details of the Cuauhtémoc remains at Ixcateopan have been carefully explained elsewhere (Gillingham 2005; Jiménez Moreno 1962; Matos Moctezuma 1980), but some specific, essential aspects will be mentioned here.

Because of the nature of the finding and local political conditions, Guzman's report raised doubts about the authenticity of the remains. Due to the apparent inadequate technique and inaccurate recording during the excavation, an academic committee composed of renowned archaeologists and historians, popularly known as the Great Commission, was created to assess the veracity of the information (1950-1951). The Great Commission determined that the human remains discovered did not actually belong to Cuauhtémoc (Jiménez Moreno 1962:170). Despite this negative conclusion, Guzman, supported by the press and the government, continued affirming that the remains were those of Cuauhtémoc. Later, in 1975, another commission was created to clarify the facts. In this second assessment the report was even more detailed. It was determined that human remains excavated in 1949 by Guzman corresponded to eight different individuals, and that the skull had female characteristics, reiterating that the remains did not belong to Cuauhtémoc (Matos Moctezuma 1980, 2006). Both committees included specialists working from an interdisciplinary perspective, which gave greater importance to the evaluation.

The debate about the authenticity of the remains of Cuauhtémoc resulted in the harassment of the members of the committees that reviewed the discovery. Jiménez Moreno mentions that the specialists were constantly assaulted because of their refusal to recognise that the find was indeed Cuauhtémoc and, during one of the examinations conducted *in situ*, were surrounded by armed and suspicious locals (Jiménez Moreno 1962). When the Great Commission made their negative results public, they were accused of treason, despite providing scientifically evaluated information in detailed reports which took over a year to produce (ibid 177). Some decades later, this situation had not changed at all. Eduardo Matos, one of the members of the commission, mentions that when the second review was conducted in 1976, a local deputy told him that "we are looking forward to the members of the INAH [in charge of the evaluation which Matos belonged to], for once and for all, to say that here lies the remains of Cuauhtémoc". The governor at the time ironically told him that "we expect you to do the work quickly [confirming the remains were those of Cuauhtémoc] so you can return to Mexico City ... with your head on" (Matos Moctezuma 2006).

Beyond the particular case of Ixcateopan, the alleged Cuauhtémoc remains must be understood in a wider context. The 1940s were characterised by the existence of two major opposing ideological trends in Mexican politics, known as *Indianistas* and *Hispanistas*. The first concerned the importance of indigenous heritage, while the second, the legacy of Spanish culture, but different levels of intensity were recognised in both camps (Fulton 2008:29). In the midst of these debates, the alleged discovery of the remains of Hernán Cortés in 1946 fed the feelings of the Hispanistas. Therefore, the possible discovery of the remains of Cuauhtémoc in 1949 was unusually important to the Indianistas (Jiménez Moreno 1962:162) for supporting their claims that the indigenous inheritance was more significant than the Spanish one, a position which was ultimately more successful.

The debate over the remains of Cuauhtémoc is still open. No known official report by the local, municipal, or federal governments denies the authenticity of the remains. To the contrary, local government policy has indirectly promoted the remains as authentic. The official name of the town is Ixcateopan of Cuauhtémoc. This has led to the annual celebration of the day of “Mexicaness” (*Mexicaneidad*), joining it with the birthday of Cuauhtémoc (23rd February), with support from local government. Also a small statue at the entrance of the village draws attention; there, a medium-sized sculpture of Cuauhtémoc is placed next to a similar statue depicting the Foundation Myth. An additional interesting fact is that the main street of Ixcateopan has been named after Eulalia Guzman. Ixcateopan stands out as one of the important places for Mexican worshippers who gather annually for “new age” dance ceremonies during the month of February. Additionally, the town has been used as an important focus for domestic and international tourism.

Despite the above-mentioned controversies, Cuauhtémoc is the most fundamental personage for banal nationalism. He is one of the characters that has the most presence in nationalism, beyond the grandiloquence of national official celebrations. His mythical last battle against Cortés has captivated local and foreign observers, and has been present continuously for over a hundred years in the Mexican nationalist imagination through their depiction on currency and stamps.

Stamps and Cuauhtémoc

In 1923 a postal stamp series called "*Places and Monuments*" was issued, in which various monuments representing events in the newest version of history were depicted, including pre-Columbian times to modern Mexico. Among the pre-Hispanic events, a stamp depicting the Monument to Cuauhtémoc was released (Figure 28). The stamp was popular and was reprinted throughout the entire series; indeed, it had the highest number of appearances (eight in total) from the beginning of the series in 1923 until the end in 1937. The Monument to Cuauhtémoc appearing on the stamps was a lithograph of an actual monument located in the *Paseo de la Reforma*, which was inaugurated in 1887 by Porfirio Díaz and remains standing today (Figure 29).



Figure 28. Monument to Cuauhtémoc, stamp released in 1923 [SC 641].



Figure 29. Modern environment of Monument to Cuauhtémoc on *Reforma Avenue* (Photo by the author 2008)

These stamps portray a multiple commemoration that spans multiple spaces. They are a celebration of the monumentality of the sculpture in itself, but also gave a sense of mobility and dynamism to the sculpture: the real monument needed people to visit it in order for them to receive the message it conveyed; stamps, on the other hand, in their capacity as portable objects, spread the message of the monument across the country. The actual monument printed on stamps gained the mobility of stamps, and these, despite their miniature proportions, gained the size of the Monument. Stamp and monument combined to spread the message of grandeur and stoicism.



Figure 30. Cuauhtémoc in the series Architecture and Archaeology, 1950 [SC C190]

There are also representations of Cuauhtémoc in the series “Architecture and Archaeology” (Figure 30). This stamp is even more interesting because it was released at the time when the controversy over the human remains in Ixcateopan was at its peak (1950). The same stamp was subsequently reprinted in two other issues in 1953 and 1960 [SC C190, C201 y C220b]. This stamp is an interesting case in which the imagery of Cuauhtémoc does not have the traditional appeal of the headdress with which he had previously been represented. In fact, it is a fairly simple design dominated by the lightness of the outline. The portrait is represented in profile; his features, mainly the helmet, seem to be a reference to the standards of a warrior from European classical antiquity. His thin face, with slanted and long eyes, contrasts with the preferred image of the regime (the solemnity of the Monument). This interesting stamp did not last more than three years. In subsequent stamps Cuauhtémoc is portrayed in a more artistic way, either to commemorate his birthday [SC 1932] or to remember his death [SC 1143], or as part of his pre-Hispanic representation as in the case of Mexican Codices [SC 1201] (Figure 31).



Figure 31. Cuauhtémoc at Pre-Hispanic Personages of México stamp series, 1980 [SC 1201].

Banknotes and Cuauhtémoc

Regarding banknotes, Cuauhtémoc has been the only pre-Hispanic character to be displayed as central image on the front of two different notes. The first note, produced by the ABNC, features an image of Cuauhtémoc [DD 820; B 708b] reproduced from a bust made during the nineteenth century (Lizalde 1999:120). The figure looks slightly upward, which gives it an air of pride, and dignity in defeat; this image condenses the solemnity and stoicism preferred for the portrayal of this hero-martyr. In the note produced by the Mexican Banknote Factory, a new lithograph based on the same bust portrays a new Cuauhtémoc, in a more warm and realistic way [DD 1279; B 93]. In both, his face conveys pride, resignation, and loss, but also revival. Cuauhtémoc always gives moral advice (Figure 32).



Figure 32. Cuauhtémoc is the only pre-Hispanic character who has appeared twice on the obverse of a note. The 1000 pesos note (top) was in circulation from 1936 to 1977 [DD 820; B 708b]. The 50,000 peso note (bottom) circulated from 1986 to 1992 [DD 1279; B 93]. The note has been edited to highlight the archaeological features.

The facial features depicted on banknotes are one of the most important elements in the design: humans have developed a sophisticated ability to recognise faces and any variation, however small, may immediately be detected (Unwin and Hewitt 2001:1013). This ability to recognise faces is also important to attempts to stop counterfeiting. Human faces have the power to express feelings or messages where words are silent. On the plaque that accompanies the actual bust, from which the face on the banknotes is derived, is the direct message that "the courage, stoicism and dignity of the last Aztec emperor are an example of heroism for all Mexicans". This bust is currently in the Zócalo, the central square in Mexico City (Figure 33).



Figure 33. Bust of Cuauhtémoc currently in the Zocalo, Mexico City

Coins and Cuauhtémoc

As mentioned in chapter 3 coins do not have the space and surfaces to allow the same specific details as those portrayed on banknotes, and minting techniques are quite different to those involved in printing. However, coins also contain important ideological messages.

Coincidentally, history has recreated the encounter, at least symbolically, between Hernán Cortés and Cuauhtémoc. As mentioned above, in the 1940s, the *Indianistas* and *Hispanistas* were engaged in heated debates. As noted, the discovery of the bones of Hernán Cortés in 1946 boosted the *Hispanista* cause. Shortly after this, the Mexican government issued a silver coin with a face value of 5 pesos [KM 465] featuring a portrait of Cuauhtémoc. It reached a circulation of 31,850,000 (including both mintages 1947-48) (Figure 34). This coin may have been launched to counter the popularity of the *Hispanista* trend that was becoming stronger after the discovery of Cortés' remains (Jiménez Moreno 1962:166).



Figure 34. Cuauhtémoc on the reverse of a 5 pesos silver coin in circulation 1947-1948 [KM 465].

In this context the discovery of the alleged bones of Cuauhtémoc in Ixcateopan was an important opportunity for the *Indianista* faction to gain ideological ground, and proved to be of lasting importance. The launch of another coin after the Ixcateopan finding in the midst of controversy demonstrates the ideological power of coins. The bust of Cuauhtémoc was again featured on a coin released in 1950, although it was in the form of a silhouette which does not correspond to the preferred image of stoicism, and instead appears to be rather sad and timid [KM 449]. Later, the portrait of Cuauhtémoc featured on the silver five peso coin, enjoyed enormous popularity, and was the image which was featured on multiple coins after 1950 [KM 465, 450, 451 and 452] and enduring until 1983.

The renowned historian, Enrique Florescano points out that that the simple idea of using Cuauhtémoc as a defender of the country extends the existence of Mexico into the sixteenth century (Florescano 2005:155). In fact, commemorative plaques located in the plaza of Tlatelolco in Mexico City, unveiled in early 1960 include some striking content relating to Cuauhtémoc. The text of these plaques summarises the aims of the moral integration of the pre-Hispanic past with the present: "On August 13, 1521, Tlatelolco, heroically defended by

Cuauhtémoc, fell into the power of Hernán Cortés. It was neither a victory nor a defeat; it was the painful birth of the *Mestizo* people that is Mexico today" (Figure 35).



Figure 35. Cuauhtémoc commemorative stone plaque at Tlatelolco, Mexico City

A Myth of golden age: The Stone of the Sun

Aztec monumental sculpture has captivated the Western world due to the extensive use and representation of complex symbols. The physical monumentality has been equated to the symbolic greatness of pre-Hispanic cultures. Its persistent depiction either on currency or stamps makes it one of the most important images through which the nation meets its own mythology. It has been mentioned that the golden ages cultures evoke the authenticity and originality of a nation. A golden age culture represents the first flowering creative moment and liberation in a pristine and ideal era. The golden age is a time when the nation was more authentic, without mixing, without subsequent adjustments or external cultural borrowing, and is the time when the nation was not contaminated, when it was great and heroic (Smith 2001:445).

The repeated use of the image of the Stone of the Sun reinforces a series of symbolic elements that are worth mentioning. The discovery of the stone marks a milestone in the history of New Spain, from which time the antiquities uncovered were not destroyed, as had occurred in the previous colonial period (Solís 2001:333). This coincides with a growing interest in the independent political and administrative recognition of creoles, as people with a past worthy of respect, who were seeking to authenticate their independence (Brading 2001:523). The stone has been an inescapable emblem of political freedom and independence based on the grandeur of the pre-Hispanic cultures.

In fact, since its discovery the Stone of the Sun served as a basis for asserting that American native cultures had developed the same skill and strength as any other ancient culture in the old world. The Stone of the Sun has also been used to critique the anti-American opinion of some Europeans, specially Buffon (French naturalist known for its theory of American Degeneracy) included amongst the most famous, who regarded the pre-Columbian cultures as backward, less developed, or primitive compared to their ancient counterparts in Western Europe (such as Greeks or Romans). It was argued then that the Stone of the Sun was a reflection of the sophisticated thought of pre-Columbian cultures. The Stone of the Sun became the fundamental element that testified that American pre-Columbian societies exerted a complex cultural appeal, and especially, these arguments were used to justify the demands of the creoles to exercise their own government. The statement by José María Morelos (see Appendix I), when he mentions that political independence was a natural condition of pre-Hispanic cultures before the European

arrival, is well-known. The appeal of the past, represented by the Stone of the Sun, helped to create the ideological basis on which to expel the Spanish invaders through the war of independence, and is still used as a sign of a unitary nation with sovereignty since pre-Columbian times.

The Stone of the Sun is also an object that has marked the gradual changes to the protection and display of antiquities in Mexico. Following its discovery in 1790, it was embedded into the west tower of the Metropolitan Cathedral in Mexico City, where it was exhibited for nearly a hundred years for public viewing. Its transfer from the tower of the Cathedral to the National Museum in 1885 was an unprecedented action. It was the first time that an enclosure was organised for the display of the Stone of the Sun and other Aztec monoliths (Florescano 1993). This physical movement of the Stone of the Sun coincided with the institutionalisation of Archaeology (Díaz-Andreu 2007:88); the new post of Inspector of Archaeological Monuments was created in the same year. The final transfer of the Stone of the Sun at the National Museum of Anthropology (MNA) in Mexico City in 1964 set another precedent in the manner of presenting the past in a modern way associated with nationalist feelings. It has been mentioned that the location of the Stone of the Sun in the MNA is a form of “enthronement” of the Aztec culture over the rest of pre-Hispanic cultures. In political terms, the Stone of the Sun and the enthronement of the Aztecs in general, have been considered as central and sensible arguments for the justification of Mexico City as the most important political, administrative, and cultural city in the country, thus creating a natural condition for internal colonialism.

A simple fact demonstrates the intricate relationship that archaeologists have with the political establishment. The Stone of the Sun was used as a foundational argument to celebrate the antiquity of Mexican archaeology. In addition to being used politically, in the archaeological academy the stone has been controversial, as its discovery has been claimed as the birth of the Mexican archaeology. In an unusual event, and despite the then-ongoing debate, a stamp was released commemorating 200 years of archaeology with a fiery image of the *Coatlicue*, another Aztec monolith that was found together with the Stone of the Sun.

Archaeology of the Stone of the Sun

It is believed that the Stone of the Sun was completed in the year of AD 1512 under the reign of Moctezuma (1502-1520). Because of its monumentality and beauty it is considered that it had a privileged place both symbolically and physically in the Aztec city. It was most likely demolished and buried during the Spanish Conquest (1519-1521) and it remained buried, lying face down, until its discovery in 1790. The monolith measures 3.60 meters in diameter (12ft), 1.22 metres in thickness (4ft), and has a weight of 24 tons. It is considered to represent Mesoamerican Post-Classic (1325-1521) cosmological concepts. It is not a calendar, a function that has been erroneously attributed to it; although the symbols for different days appear on it, it is not a fully functioning calendar. The face on the centre of the Stone has not been conclusively identified. Some have interpreted it as the solar god *Tonatiuh* (Caso 1958:32-33) while others identify it as *Yohualtecuhtli* the Lord of the Night (Klein 1976:12).

On either side of this central face are pairs of hands, tipped with eagle claws smashing human hearts. On its tongue is a flint knife, representing the necessity of human sacrifices for the continuity of the solar movement. Around the central image — either the Sun god *Tonatiuh* or the god of commerce and travellers, *Yohualtecuhtli* — there are four squares representing previous suns (Jaguar, Wind, Rain and Water). In addition, the stone features three rings: in first, the pictograms of the twenty days of the sacred calendar are represented; the second ring contains bands with drawings of the solar rays and of jewels of jade or turquoise (Caso 1958:33) in the third ring two fire serpents are represented. At the top, in the central part of the Stone where serpents join at the tail, the symbol “13 Acatl” corresponds to the western calendar year of 1479. For some, this date indicates when work on the Stone of the Sun first begun (Florescano and Eissa 2008:64), and some consider that by 1512 the Stone of the Sun was completed (McEwan and López Luján 2009).

The Rolling Stone in Notes and the Stone of the Sun

The Stone of the Sun is omnipresent in Mexican currency and stamps. It has been depicted 29 times from 1905 to 2009. Its reproduction on banknotes, coins, and stamps makes it an element of cult, fascination, politics, and identity. Currency and notes are printed by the million and are therefore an essential element of banal nationalism. Because of this, there is an interesting relationship between the denomination and the number of copies in circulation. When speaking

of banknotes, it is usually common for smaller denominations (a £5 note, for example) to have a shorter life span but the number of copies printed is rather large. By contrast, the highest denominations (for instance, £50 notes) have a more prolonged life span although they have a more restricted circulation. In an estimate made in the late 1960, it was asserted that Mexican notes of small denominations (1, 5, 10 and 20 pesos) had a lifetime of less than two years, the 50 to 500 pesos of two to three years, while those of higher denomination, in this case of 1000 pesos, an average lifespan of more than six years (Banxico 1969).

One of the first representations of the Stone of the Sun in a twentieth century banknote was the one peso note, issue number [DD 295; B 59]. This note was the lowest denomination; accordingly it had the highest number of reproductions. According to Bank of Mexico this note had 146 million copies in circulation in 1969 (ibid). This fact is important because, in addition to the large number of reproductions, the banknote was in circulation for nearly 35 years (1936-1970). This suggests that the note featuring the Stone of the Sun circulated everywhere in the country. The one peso note is unique because never in the modern history of paper money in Mexico was such a low denomination again reprinted. It is also worth mentioning that it is practically the only example in which an object, rather than a person, was featured as the main image on the front (Figure 36). The note was withdrawn in 1970; however, the image of the Stone of the Sun would soon be included on currency again.



Figure 36. The Stone of the Sun in one peso note [DD295;B59].The note has been edited to highlight the archaeological features.

By 1979 a 500 peso note featuring this potent image was released into circulation [DD 1227; B 69]. This note was withdrawn in 1984. Although this note depicts the Stone of the Sun, there is a substantial difference when compared with the previous example, as the stone was no longer the principal element in the design. The Stone of the Sun was printed on the back, together with the Stone of Tizoc, which is another monumental Aztec monolith. An additional feature to this note is a small, stylised image of the *Ollin* symbol, which represents the four cardinal points in the Aztec worldview (Banxico 1979). In this note, the position of the Stone of the Sun on the back appears subordinate to Francisco I. Madero, the first president in the Revolutionary era (1911-1913), who is pictured on the front (Figure 37).



Figure 37. Front and back of a five hundred pesos note in circulation 1979-1984 [DD 1227; B 69]. The note has been edited to highlight the archaeological features.

This 500 pesos banknote replaced a previous one which featured a portrait of José María Morelos, the hero in the independence movement, with an image of the Mining Palace, an impressive colonial building [DD 792; B 708a], on the reverse. This note substitution represents

a major political change. Colonial heritage was replaced with pre-Hispanic heritage, and independence was replaced by the revolution. Revolution and the pre-Hispanic past were the most powerful emblems for the post-revolutionary government, for which the promotion of these values were key to maintaining the political establishment for over 70 years.

Coins and the Stone of the Sun

Engravings of this Aztec monolith have been consistently included in coins throughout the twentieth century. The analysis carried out here shows that there are two periods in which this element has been prolifically used. The first phase stretches from 1905 to 1946, while a second began in 1992 and continues today. In the first phase (1905-1942), four coins were minted which contained either partial or total features of the Stone of the Sun. It appeared for the first time on a 5 cent coin launched in 1905, which features a stylised version of some of the imagery in the outer ring [KM 421]. However, in 1917, a gold twenty peso coin [KM 478] was introduced. As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, this coin is undoubtedly one of the most beautiful examples in Mexican numismatics and, importantly, marks the rise of nationalism in Mexico. This coin features a full engraving of the Stone of the Sun on the reverse face. It was short-lived, being withdrawn in 1921, though some copies were printed in 1959 and it was again minted between 1960-1971. However, the only version that was fully circulated was that which appeared between 1917-1921. In 1936 five- and ten-cent coins with the representation of the outer ring [KM 423 y 432] were minted, and remained in circulation until 1946 (Figure 38).



Figure 38. Twenty pesos gold coin in circulation 1917-1921 bearing the Stone of the Sun [KM 478]. On the right, a ten-cent coin released in 1936, depicting iconography of the Stone of the Sun [KM 432].

In the second phase (1992 to today), virtually the entire group of coins in circulation with the denomination from ten-cent to ten peso coins feature an element of the Stone of the Sun (a total of 8 coins) [KM 546a, 547a, 548a, 549a, 603, 604, 605 y 636]. In 1992 the Mexican Mint launched a whole group of new coins, which are still in circulation. The main characteristic of these coins is the depiction on the obverse of a feature taken from the Stone of the Sun, which appears on coins with the denominations of 5, 10 and 50 cents, together with 1, 2, 5 and 10 pesos (Figure 39, additionally see animation at <http://www.cmm.gob.mx/cono.html>). Apart from the design, this group represents a radical change in the design and style of coins. The production uses a bi-metallic technique, similar to that used in many other countries after the 1990s. The coins also reflect the new monetary reform of 1992 when, in Mexico, the last three zeroes were eliminated from the pesos.

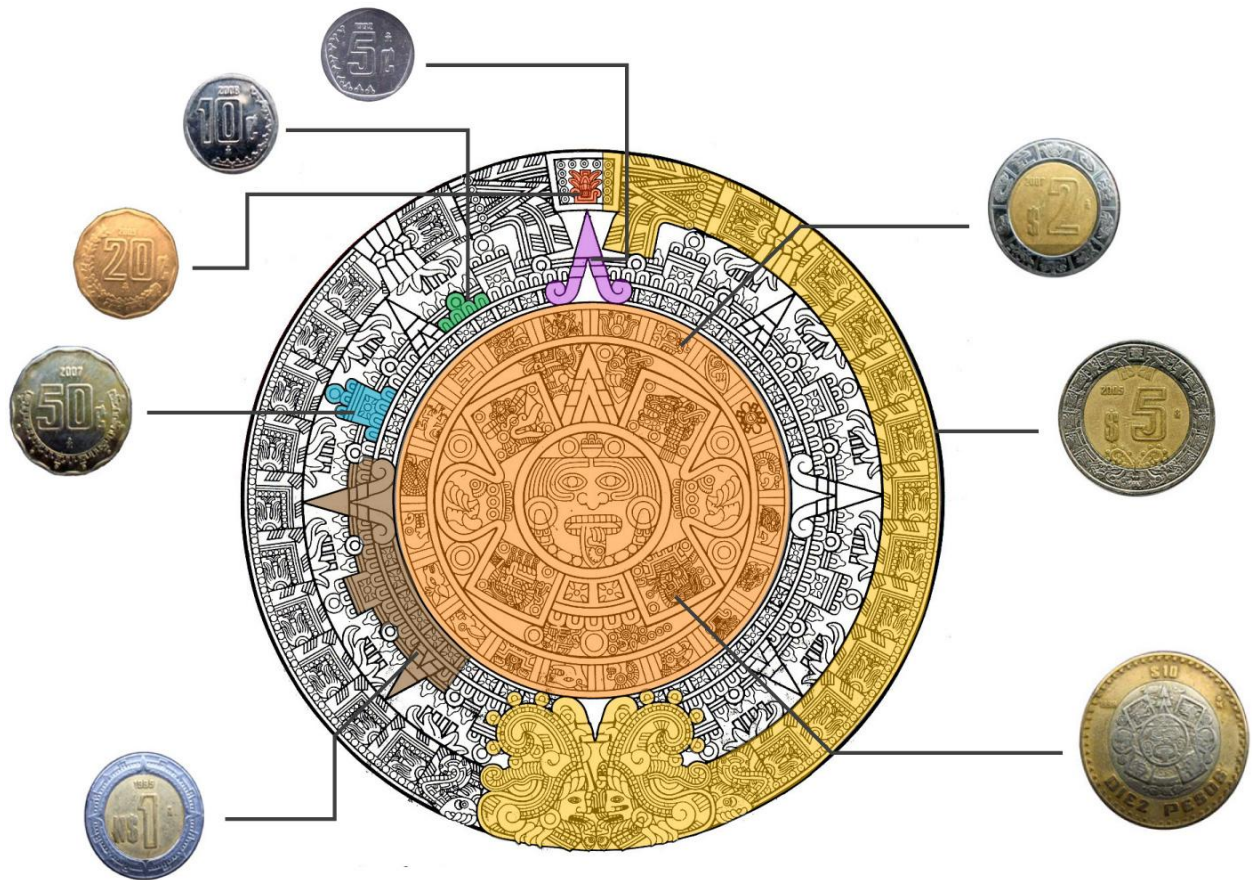


Figure 39. Current circulating coins bearing some features of the Stone of the Sun.

Stamps and the Stone of the Sun

With respect to stamps, representation of the Stone of the Sun has been in less proportion. The image appears on 6 stamps (1934-1992) [SC C61, C417, C570, C571, C572 and 1761]. Despite its appearance on only a few stamps, the images are an important source of information. Stamps represent an interesting junction where nationalism and tourism meet. In the particular case of the Stone of the Sun its flexibility allowed it to be a key element in nationalism, but it has also been an important additional image in events of national or international significance and/or related to tourism promotion.

From the perspective of nationalism, the series *Art and Science of Mexico* (60 stamps issued from 1971 to 1988) included images of important cultural, artistic, and political developments in Mexico. This series included images of renowned scientists, artists, politicians, paintings of landscapes and buildings, and also images of the pre-Hispanic past. A stamp [C417] depicting the image of Stone of the Sun was included in this series in 1973 (Figure 40). This image was finely detailed and stood alone in the composition, requiring no additional supporting elements. The use of pre-Hispanic archaeological heritage in this stamp was similar to the ways in which archaeology had been used earlier to promote nationalism, where the pre-Hispanic past and present inter mingled with the aim of enhancing the sense of nationhood. This design suggested that the Stone of the Sun was the protagonist of the significant events of the nation and its institutions.



Figure 40. Stamp released in 1973 under the series Art and Science of Mexico [SC C417].

However, beginning in the 1970 a major change occurred. From this time archaeological heritage, previously used almost exclusively for nationalist purposes, began to appear in forms of representation in which the pre-Hispanic iconography occupied a secondary position. In 1978, Mexico hosted the Miss Universe contest in Acapulco, state of Guerrero. A series of stamps under the title “Miss Universe Contest” were issued as an advertisement. Three stamps were issued which bore an image of the pre-Hispanic monolith; however, a feminine silhouette overlay an outline of the Stone of the Sun. This image appeared in different shades and with different nominal values [SC 570, 571, 572] (Figure 41). As will be shown in the following chapter, archaeology had been in use, from the 1960s as an additional resource for promoting tourism and other events. All these stamps reflect the way in which the various forms of displacement experienced by archaeological heritage have accelerated since the 1970s.



Figure 41. Miss Universe Contest stamp, released in 1978 [SC C570]

The Stone of the Sun, in its capacity as a public monument, has lost its original meaning in relation to Aztec blood rituals. The stone is without a doubt one of the best-known archaeological objects of the Mexican past, both for domestic and international audiences. The Aztecs, without knowing it, created a monument that in its own historical time would have a short existence; it endured less than ten years as an object of cult in the Aztec society. Conversely, in modern times nationalistic movements have given it a long life of cult and fascination, with diverse uses. The stone has been a protagonist for nearly five centuries since its completion. In spite of its popularity, the meaning of its reliefs remains hidden for the great majority.

Conclusions

This chapter has focused on the way that nationalism has used archaeological iconography in the creation of a national mythology. Since the earliest days of Spanish colonisation, the terms *Mexica* and *Aztec* have been used to describe two different groups. The term *Aztec* was used to refer a tribe that, according to indigenous texts, had left the mythical place of Aztlán, supposedly located somewhere in northern Mexico. The term *Mexica* referred to a tribe which was originally part of the tribes who had left Aztlán but was separated by divine mandate from the Aztecs. During the colonial era and part of the period of an independent Mexico, these terms were used to differentiate the two different tribes. However, in the nineteenth century, the term *Aztec* was popularised in Europe and North America, grouping both tribes together. Nevertheless, in academic circles in Mexico, in the historiography and archaeology of the nineteenth century the distinction between *Aztec* and *Mexica* was maintained. However, due to its international impact, the term *Aztec* has gained popularity, both in Mexico and abroad. This use has caused tensions and contradictions, and it has also been a metaphor for the ways in which the State has exerted cultural and political centralism.

The use of coins, notes, and stamps clearly demonstrates the power of these official means of dissemination of a nationalistic ideology. In some cases currency and stamps are released in the thousands, but mostly are printed by the million. It is no accident that the governing elites are jealous of the control and manipulation of currency and stamps. The nation-state has used these items as a way to justify and perpetuate the fundamental reasons for the political existence of the nation. In doing so, the proposal of banal nationalism has been significant in demonstrating how this national recreation of mythology circulates on a daily basis.

The ideological significance of the Myth of Foundation, Cuauhtémoc, and the Stone of the Sun show that a national mythology has been built from a positive version of history: national myths stripped cultural significance to give a new meaning in the political present. This nationalistic version does not recognise that the Aztec culture was a complex and contradictory society that, while developing highly sophisticated cultural forms, also practiced a despotic and tyrannical government. Additionally, a favourite metaphor of nationalism has set the Spanish conquistadors against the Aztecs. However, it has been clearly shown that the Aztecs were

defeated not only by the Spaniards -although this is the preferred version which divides the indigenous world from that of the European- but that several native indigenous groups joined the Spanish and actively participated in the defeat of the Aztecs. These groups were threatened by the Aztecs who captured them as ritual victims to be sacrificed in the *Flowery War* (the capture of enemies to be sacrificed on ritual ceremonies), and also were politically dominated and obliged to pay tributes. The political uses of the past, from this perspective, do not consider that the pre-Hispanic indigenous cultural relationships were not uniform; nor indeed, that several differences in time and space occurred in different parts of Mesoamerica.

The perception of ancient monuments only as national symbols leads to a limited enjoyment of the past (complacent and uncritical) that does not allow a rational discussion about the objects and objectives of archaeology (Vázquez 1996:67). The simple facts that in some countries archaeological monuments are national property and, that archaeology is government-funded, leads to the unavoidable conclusion that both monuments and archaeology are a matter of politics -or perhaps it is better to say for politicians- and are appropriated uncritically by the state (ibid:83). The profuse depiction of Aztecs on currency and stamps implies a homogenisation of the cultures of the past, unrepresentative of the true cultural diversity within Mesoamerica. The Aztecs are portrayed by the government using a mythical, unique, and exclusive imagery mainly selected to support the national narrative of power.

Aztecs have been a fundamental component of nationalism. Although other cultures such as Olmec, Teotihuacán, and Toltec could be argued to be part of the Golden Age, none of these can compete against the Aztec culture. Since the end of the nineteenth century the Aztecs were transformed into the Golden Age of the Nation, and their mythology and objects have been appropriated to strengthen and justify the origin and permanence of the nation. The Aztecs were chosen as the model and as the stereotype (or more accurately as the prototype) of the pre-Hispanic past (Bueno 2004:49). The Aztecs have been multifaceted for the nation, and have been used to promote Mexico abroad through World Fairs (Tenorio 1996b) and to mystify the origins of the nation, as well as being used as sublime propaganda to justify political centralism exerted from Mexico City to the rest of the country. The Aztecs, in addition, have provided the State with a good quantity of myths to feed banal nationalism (Billig 1995), and helped to put Mexico in the league of modern countries in the nineteenth century. Likewise, the Aztecs have been

immune to the political situation, as they remained equally important to both pre- and post-revolutionary nationalism.

Timothy Champion and Philip Kohl mentioned that nationalism was not the only force transforming archaeology (Champion 1996:138; Kohl 2004:298; Kohl 1998:236). The influence of the tourism industry in archaeology has increasingly become more significant in the development of the discipline. Archaeology in general, and particularly in Mexico, has since the late 1950s (and more clearly in the 1970s) been associated with the mass tourism industry. Therefore, to provide a better understanding of the development of these different facets, archaeology in the light of the tourism industry will be analysed in the next two chapters.

Chapter 6

The 1968 Olympics, Archaeology, and Postage Stamps

An Olympiad is a whirlwind of political and economic interests.
Surviving the whirlwind, with dignity more or less intact,
has to be considered a small triumph (Rodriguez Kuri 1998:127).

So far in this research has been argued that the pre-Hispanic past has been a primary and essential element in the formation of a national Mexican identity. The aim of this chapter will be to analyse the influence of the 1968 Olympic Games on the further use of archaeological heritage. It will be suggested that the staging of the Olympics generated an important changeover in the use of archaeology from the monopoly of nationalism, converting it into an important component of the tourist industry. In this chapter, this transition will be examined through an analysis of the postage stamp series launched to commemorate the 1968 Olympic Games. The first part of this chapter focuses on the cultural and political importance of the organisation of mass events with particular relevance to the Mexican case; while in the second part the Olympic postage stamps series containing pre-Hispanic iconography are analysed in detail.

Mass sport events

There is a general agreement amongst scholars that the organisation of mass sporting events generates international interest, promotion of tourism and development of infrastructure (Green and Chalip 1998; Lee, et al. 2005). They have a major political, cultural, and economic impact (Burgan and Mules 1992), but also large sporting events play an important role in the relationship between identity and nationalism (Arbena, 1991, Brewster, 2004, Brewster, 2009). Global sporting competitions include such diverse games as rugby, cricket, baseball, basketball, tennis, and the Grand Prix. In some of these, both athletes and audiences have a very specific profile dependent either on weather circumstances (for example the Winter Olympics or the Rally Dakar) or particular venues (such as Wimbledon or Roland Garros). A significant number of these sporting events are regularly organised in annual or biennial cycles. However, the largest events involving the greatest number of countries, the Olympic Games (which began in 1896) and the Football World Cup (established in 1930), are held every four years.

As a consequence of their international scope, both the Olympics and the Football World Cup have a major cultural impact. An event of this magnitude is an important opportunity for a country to promote a positive image on a worldwide scale, generally related with tourism (Lee, et al. 2005:840). Countries also have an opportunity to increase their international prestige by showing their capacity for organising such an event (Brewster and Brewster 2010:44), including a range of related activities. At a domestic level, investments in infrastructure and a significant advertising apparatus are developed. This stimulates temporary employment and the creation of a diversity of institutions and organisations, and leads to an increase in the number of tourists. Tourists contribute to the local economy over a short period of time through their expenditure; even though, increasing tourism is not a priority for the major sport events.

According to the International Olympic Committee, the Olympic Games in Barcelona (1992) attracted 620,000 spectators (calculated by the number of room night stays over 20 days in Barcelona²). FIFA offers similar data: the World Cup celebrated in

² (<http://www.fundaciobarcelonaolimpica.es/intro.html>),

Mexico (1970) had an estimated attendance of 1,603,975, while the Korea/Japan World Cup (2002) had a total of 2,705,197 spectators (www.fifa.com). However, the economic analysis of these figures demonstrates that the relationship between tourist expenditure and profit is not linear or reciprocal at all (Burgan and Mules 1992:706). The figures for attendance at major sport events would seem to be of limited influence when compared with the entry of tourists per year to those countries. For instance, Germany was visited by 23,500,000 international tourists in 2006 (UNWTO 2008:5) whereas attendance at the 2006 FIFA World Cup was 3,359,439 (www.fifa.com). Due to the short duration of the celebration of major competitions (they usually last three weeks), these numbers seem to have a limited influence if compared with the years of preliminary preparation and the cultural impact on host countries. Therefore, the legacy of these events is indeed a crucial aspect. This is the case with Mexico.

On the way to the 1968 Olympics

The development of sport and its institutions in Mexico is long and complex. Sports were first introduced during the late nineteenth century for the Porfirian elite, whose admiration of the leisure and sports lifestyle in the United States and Europe led to a desire to adapt the values and behaviours of the so-called progress (McGehee 2000:97). During this time members of the Mexican elite introduced baseball from the United States and football from England. By embracing these foreign sports, tension between traditional folkways and the emerging modern society emerged. The incorporation and promotion of western sports was part of the desire for cultural "whitening" of the Mexican elites (Arbena 1991:351). It showed the interest of Mexican elites in elevating the country, by means of sports and others activities, to the height of the countries which were considered examples of development and modernity and also as part of nationalism. However, no interest in the creation of a sporting infrastructure for the working classes emerged at this time.

In contrast to the previous elite unwillingness to encourage the working class to practice sports, the Mexican revolution was also reflected in sports and infrastructure. In fact, cultural nationalism was progressively linked to sports. Education for schoolchildren and institution-building were the primary means to popularise sports, but also the staging

of sporting events played a role. Before the revolution Mexico began to participate in international competitions (e.g. Olympic Games in Paris in 1900), although Mexican participation was limited during the first decade of the twentieth century. However a major change is seen after the 1920s. In the international sphere, Mexico participated in the Olympic Games in Paris in 1924 and Amsterdam in 1928. At a national level, in 1926 Mexico organised the first Central American and Caribbean Games and also joined the *Fédération Internationale de Football Association* (FIFA) in 1929, and has participated in the FIFA World Cup since 1930. During subsequent decades there was a more systematic development of institutions and political interest that would result in Mexico's participation in different sporting events, both nationally and internationally.

In the second part of the twentieth century the relationship between sports and nationalism changed considerably. There was a feeling among political elites that post-revolutionary Mexico had matured and they wanted to prove this to the world. After successfully bidding, Mexico held two major sporting events within two years: the Olympic Games (1968) and the FIFA World Cup (1970). The organisation of such events had a significant impact beyond sports. Most authors agree that Mexico, at the end of the 1960s, was looking forward as a nation, not only for organising these events but also for the modernisation of the country (Brewster 2004, 2009; Rodríguez Kuri 1998, 2003; Zolov 2004). What Mexican elites really wanted to show is that armed revolution had been left behind and that a cultural revolution in the modern Mexican nation had just begun as the result of a long process of pacification. In the specific case of the 1968 Olympic Games, an impressive organisational apparatus was created that joined politics, arts, cultural traditions, archaeology, history, and modernity (Rodríguez Kuri 1998:115), demonstrating an interesting junction between sports and nationalism. The 1968 games also represent a change in the traditional ways of presenting the games, staging them as part of a worldview expressed through the creation of a graphic identity (Comisarenco 2008).

The 1968 Mexico City Olympics

The Olympic Games organised in 1968 were the first large sporting event to be granted to a Latin American country, awarded to Mexico by the International Olympic Committee

at its 1963 meeting in Baden-Baden, Germany. It was the first time that the Olympic Games were celebrated away from Europe and the US (except for Tokyo and Melbourne), and in a Spanish-speaking, developing country. There was some opposition to the Mexican candidature. It was argued that the altitude of Mexico City (2240 metres above sea level) would be a negative factor for the athletes' performance. On the international level the economic underdevelopment of Mexico was often cited as a negative factor. Some countries criticised the slow pace of the construction of infrastructure, claiming that the Olympic buildings would not be ready in time for the inauguration. Controversially, it was also suggested that the October 12th date for the opening ceremony of the games should be changed due to the scheduled activities of North American television networks, or because the US presidential elections would be happening at that time. Nevertheless, the Olympic Games were held as they had been originally planned.

The history of the Olympic Games at Mexico City is a window to one of the most contradictory moments in the trajectory of Post-revolution Mexico (Rodríguez Kuri 1998:128). As mentioned above (Chapter 1), 1968 was a year that deeply marked the contemporary history of Mexico not only because of the Olympic Games, but also because of the killing of unarmed students at Tlatelolco (Mexico City). The massacre of Tlatelolco, as it is commonly known, occurred on the 2nd October, ten days before the Opening Ceremony. This infamous event has received much attention from researchers, the media, and in popular culture. Official archives have recently been opened allowing novel research about the massacre and a growing body of literature is being published (Scherer and Monsiváis 1999). The massacre of Tlatelolco is still present in social memory, and indeed it has become the inspiration for a real and symbolic social movement for justice and democracy. However, in contradiction to these events, a dove was one of the main discursive symbols used during the Olympics in order to present Mexico as a peacemaker (Zolov 2004:169). Efforts have focused on the understanding of the motivations, causes, and fatal end of the student movement which sought democratisation and major participation of young people in political decision-making. The attention to the massacre has had a negative impact on the study of the Olympics,

although in the last decade more research has been undertaken (Brewster and Brewster 2010; Brewster 2004, 2009; Rodríguez Kuri 1998:110).

The recent interest in researching the Olympics demonstrates that the impact of this major sport event was the result of a political strategy which had been pursued for a decade before the games were held. Since the mid-1950s, Mexico had sought the stabilisation of economic development. The ideals of the *Cardenismo* (based on nationalised industries) had been abandoned and instead an attempt had been made to give the country a new face in the subsequent order after the Second World War, integrating Mexico into the international sphere. It was the time in which cultural institutions such as museums of Anthropology and Modern Art (both inaugurated in 1964) were built. The inclusion of Mexico into the world economy led to profound social and political changes. The Mexican economy was strengthened and living standards successfully covered the needs of employment, health, and education. In this context it seemed normal to create the idea of Mexico as a stable, peaceful country, where the revolutionary weapons had been given away to embrace the way of a cultural revolution (art instead of rifles). As had happened over the preceding decades, Mexico used its culture heritage (contemporary and historic), linking it with modern artistic trends, for the creation of a novel personality based on the graphic identity of “Mexico 1968”.

The Olympic Poster: Huicholes and Op Art

The study of the graphic identity associated with the Olympic Games offers an opportunity to interpret the use cultural symbols of the contemporary world. This section analyses the design created for the staging of the Mexico’s 1968 Olympic Games. The graphic identity produced was an exceptional example of the convergence of social values. It has been mentioned that this logo and graphic identity occupies an important place in the history of contemporary design. Beyond the aesthetic quality of this design, this section highlights its potential in the creation of identity and its relation to the cultural heritage.

The 1968 graphic identity was linked to innovative artistic proposals. This important relationship would result in the creation of an image of the Olympics based on an outstanding logo. The design of the Olympic Games logo was based on an

international joint project coordinated by Pedro Ramírez Vázquez, architect and Chairman of the Organizational Committee of the games. Among the crew, Eduardo Terrazas (MEXICO), Lance Wyman (USA), and Peter Murdoch (UK) were appointed to design the logo "Mexico 1968" (Figure 42). The graphic idea of the logo was based on craft patterns of the Huichol culture, an indigenous group living in the western part of Mexico, with pre-Hispanic cultural roots. Huichol artisans were invited to make some handcrafts in their very traditional style. Huichol art is characterised by designs of colourful patterns made with yarn and plastic beads. Designers Wyman and Murdoch incorporated the techniques of the then-famous optical art (op art), an artistic style characterized by virtual movement through the repetition of forms and colours. The essential ideas of Huichol and op art representations were taken for the creation of the 1968 logo, which has been considered one of the best in the history of the Olympic Games (Santiago 2008:21). This concept, unifying tradition and modernity, was the basis for the entire image of the games.

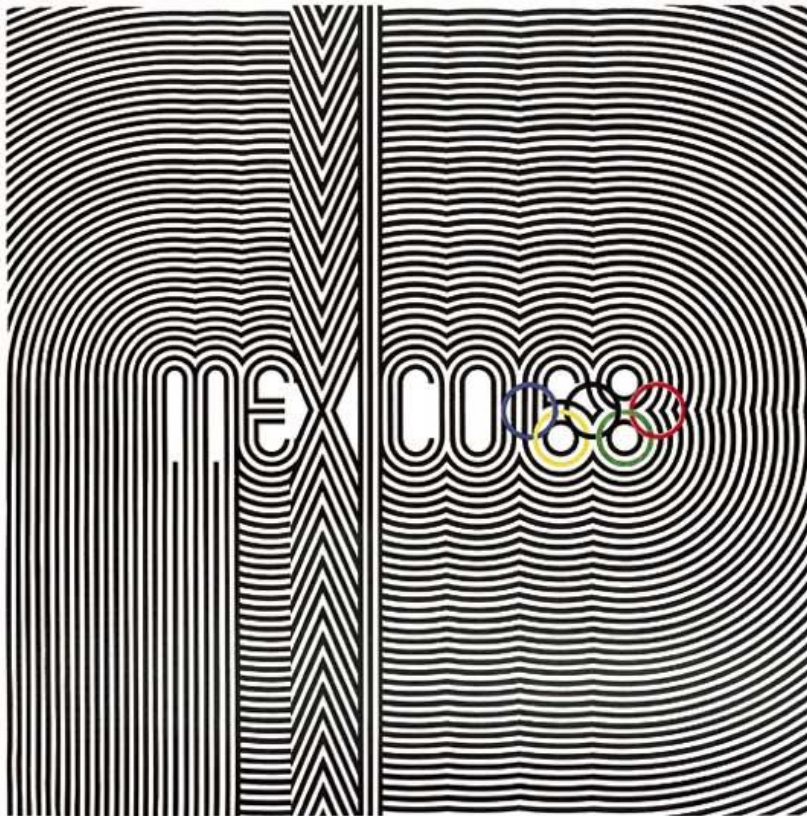


Figure 42. Official Logo Mexico 1968 (Cojo 1969)

Architect Pedro Ramírez Vázquez became Chairman of the Mexican Olympic Committee in 1966. Ramírez had been one of the most important and influential people in the creation of urban Mexico. During the 1960s he had designed important buildings such the National Museum of Anthropology (1964), the Museum of Modern Art (1964), the Aztec football stadium (1964-1965), and the office of the Secretary of Foreign Affairs (1966), and after the Games he was appointed to design the Basilica of Guadalupe (1976). The figure of Ramírez Vázquez is central for this research because he represents the interesting relationship between nationalism and the internationalisation of Mexican culture heritage. As mentioned in Chapter 1, the building of the National Museum of Anthropology (MNA), where the best archaeological objects are exhibited, was an achievement of nationalism. The museum was part of the modernisation of the country and was created as a beacon for international tourism and therefore for the internationalisation of cultural heritage in Mexico. Importantly, all the images produced for the Olympics were to be first accepted by Ramírez Vázquez, and only afterwards distributed in different media (Jácome 2010:80).

The MNA reflects the internationalisation of the ancient cultural heritage. The construction was prompted by the need to house the collections of pre-Hispanic and ethnographic objects located in old museums, but also by the aim of creating a national museum in Mexico at the height of other major international museums. It should be mentioned that while Ramírez Vázquez was the creator of the architectural project, most influential politicians, intellectuals, archaeologists, anthropologists, and historians participated in discussions about the way it should be. Among the advisers were Jaime Torres Bodet, who in the previous decade had been the International Director of UNESCO (1948-1952), the archaeologists Alfonso Caso and Ignacio Marquina, and historians such as Leon Portilla. Ramírez Vázquez once commented that for the construction of the MNA fifty-eight important museums in different parts of the world were visited, including the Louvre, the Vatican, the Museum of Ethnology of Rome, and many others in Europe (Ramírez Vázquez 2006:206-207). The inauguration of the Museum took place in September 1967, just nineteenth months after the actual construction began. The MNA created a completely new and novel style, putting Mexico

at the forefront of international recognition and embodying the internationalization of cultural ancient heritage. The museum was the venue for the Cultural Olympiad of 1968.

The Cultural Olympiad

A fundamental aspect of the Mexican Olympics of 1968 was the parallel organisation of a Cultural Olympiad (COJO 1969b:278; Rodríguez Kuri 2003:253; Zolov 2004:161). The Cultural Olympiad consisted of the organisation of museum exhibitions, theatre performances, cinema, dance, music, poetry, and philately exhibitions. The Cultural Olympiad had the aim of enhancing moral and physical qualities (COJO 1967; 1969b:282). The activities of the cultural Olympiad took place a year before the Olympics, and were designed to familiarise the people of Mexico City with the activities that would take place during the celebration of the games. The staging of the Olympics demanded the city itself adapt to the dynamics that would be required. New buildings were built, others renovated; the streets were paved, posters displayed, and street furniture, both permanent and temporary, installed. It turned the city into a stage at the height of the event. The urban landscape of Mexico City had remained practically unchanged since the renovation for the centennial celebration of the Independence in 1910, although some authors have pointed out that the changes made for the Olympic Games are only comparable to the centennial festivities (Rodríguez Kuri 1998:11). New buildings such as the Sports Palace, the Olympic pool, the Olympic village, and the Cuernavaca Canal (built to host the rowing competition) changed the urban landscape of Mexico City. The “*Ruta de la Amistad*” (Route of Friendship) was built as part of the Cultural Olympiad, consisting of sculptures made by different artists from various countries displayed along 17 km of one of the main avenues of the city. These sculptures are still standing today. The cultural Olympiad proved to be an effective mechanism to demonstrate the organisational capabilities of the Mexican Committee. In a nutshell, the organisation of the 1968 Olympics, more than the simple organisation of a sporting event, was the result of a long process and aimed to persuade “the international audience to remember Mexico” (Ramírez Vázquez interviewed by Brewster and Brewster 2010:1).

The paraphernalia associated with the Olympics became omnipresent in many ways. An important set of different commercial and institutional objects were released, including a wide range of items such as free gifts with other products (for example, small dolls in detergent packages). Key rings, towels, ashtrays, lighters, hats, and everything imaginable was put on sale (Comisarenco 2008; Real 2000). Importantly for archaeology, promotional posters and campaigns were based on the depiction of archaeological iconography based on the aforementioned logo design. Additionally, reproductions of scenes from native codexes illustrated the Cultural Programme to promote theatre plays, some of which were based on the repertoire of pre-Hispanic imagery such as *Moctezuma II: A tragedy in Three Acts* (COJO 1968). In the same way, a poster announcing the reception of the Olympic Fire was launched with the silhouette of the Pyramid of the Sun (Figure 43).



Figure 43. Silhouette of the Pyramid of the Sun, Teotihuacan. Poster promoting Cultural Olympiad (Cojo 1968)

Olympic Games Stamps Series

The importance of postage stamps as bearers of national symbols was pointed out in Chapter 3. Stamps are a fundamental method of expressing banal nationalism, or are used as a means of tourism promotion. Through the analysis of the use of pre-Hispanic iconography on the Olympic postage stamp, it is possible to observe a transformation in the uses of archaeology for nationalism and tourism. In what follows I propose that the depictions of archaeological images in the first issue of the Olympic series (1965) were used to reinforce identity in the past, and as a way of commoditising archaeological heritage. Images depicted on stamps represented the same trend of nationalism in previous stages. The Olympics were used as a way to exhibit the fundamentals of the Mexican nation to an international audience, but were mainly for domestic consumption. The use of these images reinforced the idea of the Mexican nation rooted in the pre-Hispanic past, an idea that had been present from the early days of Mexican nationalism. Additionally, during the lavish ceremony of reception of the Olympic flame at Teotihuacan, there was a significant event that eventually contributed to the development of archaeological tourism. The Olympic festivities held in Teotihuacan allowed the demonstration of the potential of the promotion of archaeological sites to tourists.

Commemorative stamps have been released since the first modern celebration of modern Olympic Games. The first collection of Olympic stamps was released on the inaugural day of the games in Athens (1896). Since then, stamps have been an important means of recording this important international phenomenon. Today it is normal practice for each Olympic Games; the host nation's postal system produces an extensive stamp and philatelic programme. In fact, in recent times all nations participating at the Olympic Games have been encouraged to issue a set of stamps. According to the International Olympic Committee (IOC) more than fifty million Olympic stamp series have been released since the first games in 1896. Governments that issue Olympic stamps, and also coins, generally contributed to some extent to funding the cost of staging the Olympic Games or to developing the nation's team (IOC 2010:41-43).

The Nineteenth Olympic Games postage stamp collection released in Mexico included five series consisting of forty stamps issued from 1965 to 1968. The first four

series are known as pre-Olympic series, and the last one as simply the Olympic series. As one would expect, most of them allude to the different sporting activities taking place during the Olympic Games. All the series as a whole reflected the various sporting activities including boxing, hockey, football, volleyball, cycling, and swimming, among others (Melo 1967:2-4). Whereas in three series (1966, 1967 and 1968) there was no archaeological iconography depicted, in the last one (1968) archaeology was present, although limited. Stamps with archaeological iconography represent 15% of the designs. Despite the apparently small percentage, it should be noted that stamps are printed in the millions.

The first series of 1965 had a print run of twenty-two million. It included five stamps, all depicting archaeological objects. Three of them display pottery figurines from cultures of Western Mexico [SC 965, 966 and C309] and two depict Mayan objects, one being the Disc of Chinkultic [SC C310] and the other a Mayan pre-Hispanic ceramic ball court model [SC C311]. The subsequent three pre-Olympic series (1966 to 1968) depicted artistic drawings where the absence of archaeological heritage is noticeable. For example, the second pre-Olympic series included sketches by the renowned painter Diego Rivera, which later would be painted on murals in the University City Stadium. This series reached a circulation of 21 million stamps. The third Pre-Olympic series depicted silhouettes of different sports. This series achieved a print run of fifty-three million stamps. The fourth and fifth Olympic Series consisted of stamps based on the artistic work of the North American artist, Lance Wyman. In the sixth and final series, the Pyramid of the Sun was depicted in a stylised way commemorating the reception of the Olympic Flame³ [SC 1001]. The six stamp designs bearing archaeological iconography will be the focus of the remaining part of this chapter.

³ When using the term “Olympic Flame” I refer to a wide range of activities organised in order to celebrate the reception of the Olympic Flame. This concept aims to avoid confusion with the close concept of the Olympic Torch. The last refers to the artefact that keeps the Olympic flame alive. Therefore, the term Olympic Flame includes different activities, the flame and also the torch.

Olympic Series	Depicting Archaeology	Total Stamps Issued
1st, 1965	5	5
2nd, 1966	0	5
3rd, 1967	0	9
4th, 1968	0	10
5th, 1968	1	11
Total	6	40

Table 14. Olympic Stamps Series depicting archaeology

As seen above (Table 14), the archaeological heritage included on the 1965 series was displayed in images in the same way as for nationalist purposes in previous decades. For nationalism, archaeological sites and objects had been the main image in the composition (as seen in Chapters 4 and 5). In the pre-Olympic series all images depicted are photographs of actual ceramic objects, supposedly related to sporting activities and chosen by the experts selected from the collections of the National Museum of Anthropology (Melo 1967:2, my emphasis). Three objects from pre-Hispanic cultures of Western Mexico can be found. The figurines are known as the batter [SC 966] the launcher [SC 965] and the ball game player [SC C309]. It also includes a miniature ceramic model of a Mesoamerican ball court, including spectators and players [SC C311], also associated with the cultures of Western Mexico. The only object associated with the Mayan culture is Chinkultic's disc, which depicts a ball game player with headdresses [SC C310] (Figure 44).



Figure 44. Stamp of the Olympic series of 1965. On the left the stamp [SC C310] and disc of Chinkultic (Disc photographed at MNA).



Figure 45. Stamps of the Olympic series of 1965 [SC 966, 965 and C309]

Although in the pre-Olympic series of 1965, the pre-Hispanic objects were depicted in the main area of the composition, they were used to announce the Olympic Games. The Olympic rings and the promotional motto “*XIX Juegos Olímpicos 1968*” (19th Olympic Games 1968) represent, therefore, the main motif of the depiction. It is worth noting that although pre-Hispanic objects were placed in a central area of the stamp, this series was issued with the intention of being an important means to promote Mexican images to an international audience. This was the first time that the government

overtly used archaeological heritage on a stamp, albeit it did so placing it in a secondary position. The inclusion of these archaeological objects as background images was intended to promote “sports”. It reflected a contradictory interpretation of those objects. The cultural meaning of archaeological objects was overlapped by the needs of commoditisation. A brief history of sport will help to clarify this observation.

It is important to stress that the archaeological images that appeared in the first set of the Olympic stamps (1965) were used to showcase Mesoamerican sport activities and for the marketing of the Olympics. There is no doubt that the depiction of these items was an extremely attractive aesthetic element. Indeed, the use of prehistoric iconography, depicted in stamps, has been a normal practice in countries with an ancient cultural heritage. In Mexico, the objects that adorn postage stamp series were included because of their apparent similarity to modern sports. However, most of the objects that were depicted in the series are related to either the Mesoamerican ballgame, which was a ritual practice, or to funerary contexts. Archaeological objects of western Mexico belong to a well defined tradition of sophisticated pottery making, and are not seemingly related to any sport activity whatsoever.

Archaeological evidence of the cultures of Western Mexico are found in the present-day States of Sinaloa, Nayarit, Jalisco, Colima, Michoacán, Guanajuato, and Guerrero. These cultures are characterised by an unparalleled skill in the production of pottery objects from an early date (1800 BC) (Kelly 1980). Among the most known early cultures of Western Mexico are the Capacha culture of Colima, the Opeño in Michoacán, and the Chupicuaro in Guanajuato. Later, from AD 200 to 900, this area was distinguished by what is known as the Shaft Tombs Culture (Meighan 1974). The Shaft Tombs Culture had a more restricted area of influence where archaeological evidence has been found, and mainly appears in the current states of Jalisco, Colima, and Nayarit. This culture is characterised by funeral deposits built underground, connecting to the surface by a cylindrical vertical shaft of variable depth (2 to 16 meters). The base of the shaft opens into one or two (but occasionally more) horizontal chambers with a low ceiling. Multiple burials are found in each chamber, and evidence indicates that the tombs were used for families or lineages over time. Buried individuals are accompanied by varied

offerings including pottery representations of anthropomorphic or animal figurines, ornaments of shell or jade, marine snails, projectile points, axes, and ceramic representations of humans and dogs, among other items. Once the burial was complete, the opening between the shaft and the chambers was sealed with stone and sand (Beekman 2008; Cabrero and López 1998; Taylor 1970).

As noted above, three pottery objects and a ball court model included in the pre-Olympic stamp series are associated with the Shaft Tomb Culture [SC 965, 966, C309, C311] (Figure 45). The fact that these pieces were integrated into the stamps was a break from the typical emphasis of nationalism, which had been centred on the *Aztecs*. In this regard, the inclusion of archaeological pottery from Western Mexico in the pre-Olympic stamp series seems to be anomalous. It seems that the criterion for its inclusion was the apparent relationship with sporting attitudes (Melo 1967:2).

The only pre-Hispanic activity that could be perhaps linked to a sporting activity is the Mesoamerican ball game, although it cannot be claimed as such with any confidence. Two stamps were released portraying the ball game [SC C310 and C311] (Figure 46). The first represents a model of the ball game court with spectator and players, which also corresponds to the pottery tradition of Western Mexico. The other is a stone disc (marker of the ball game court) found at Chinkultic, a Mayan site in Chiapas. This disc portrays the figure of a player in the centre, with one knee on the ground, wearing a skirt held by a wide protective belt around the belly, with a bandaged arm and a headdress of feathers. A group of Mayan hieroglyphs surrounds the central figure, and indicate a date of AD 590. Although the ball game required physical effort, it was related to certain rituals dealing either with fertility, the origin of the world, or representing mythical ceremonial battles in which winners or losers could have been killed. It has been argued that the ball court game can be seen as a place of negotiation of power relations (Fox, et al. 1996), rather than sports.



Figure 46. Stamps of the Olympic series of 1965. Mesoamerican Ball Court Postage Stamps [SC C310 and C311].

The majority of ceramic objects used to illustrate the pre-Olympic stamp series were associated with funerary contexts, and in some cases, the figurines were hollow, suggesting that they could have served as containers for liquids to help the deceased on their way to the underworld. While the ball game could be said to be closer to the modern sporting concept, its relationship to pre-Hispanic sport is not clear, if such an association is even possible. The interest of using these pieces in the promotion for the Olympic Games allowed Mexico to use its impressive cultural heritage, but at the cost of cultural transgression and distortion. The physical similarities of these items with sporting activities reinforced the idea that pre-Hispanic cultures practiced Western sports, and thus demonstrated the similarities between the Mexican past and the classical (Greek)

antiquity. However, commoditisation of cultural heritage was not isolated; rather, it seems to have been part of a major programme.

The selection of the designs of postage stamps is generally a bureaucratic decision. It involves a series of people who make up the official board, and who vote generally to accept or reject images. This reflects political and cultural values of the dominant groups in society (Bushnell 1997:77). The case of the 1965 Olympic stamps series suggests that decisions about the commoditisation of archaeology were made, more or less overtly, by the dominant groups. The representation of archaeological objects in the Olympic stamp series followed the pattern established in earlier decades of including such objects as a means to promote nationalism. They usually consisted of an item such as a pottery vessel, a bas-relief, or a pyramid, but avoided the inclusion of overt propaganda. In previous decades, objects were used as a way to reinforce a nationalistic message (for example in the stamp series *Architecture and Archaeology*, 1950-1975). The use of archaeological heritage was focused on the image of the object and its symbolism for the nation: the object represented the Mexican past and reinforced an identity. The message was centred on the object and its potential to recreate the past. With the introduction of the Olympic stamps, elements of propaganda were introduced, and archaeology came to be used as a secondary element. The Olympic stamp series represents an interesting transition between tradition (representing objects as part of the national identity) and innovating (using objects for commercial purposes). This transition is discussed more in depth in the next section

The last Olympic Series: promoting archaeology for mass consumption

The final series (1968) of Olympic stamps was designed by Lance Wyman and included eleven stamps. This series consisted of a visual discourse that summarised the essential elements of the 1968 Olympics graphic identity, melding the *Huichol* native style with op art iconography. The design for this series was dominated by combinations of lines in different colours, achieving a motion effect due to the variations and repetitions of the layout. The motifs that were chosen for this series were actual buildings and icons, including a map of Mexico in which the dove of peace emerges from the centre [SC 996],

a reproduction of the Olympic medals [SC C342], the UNAM Stadium [SC 997], the Sports Palace [SC 999] (Figure 47), and an image of the Pyramid of the Sun at Teotihuacan commemorating the reception of the Olympic Flame [SC 1001]. As a whole this series created a visual discourse of the Olympics.



Figure 47. Stamps of the Olympic series of 1968. It melts Huichol and op art styles by Lance Wyman [SC 997 and SC 999].

The postage stamp depicting the archaeological site of Teotihuacan [SC 1001] represents one of the most significant changes in the presentation and use of the past. The depiction of Teotihuacan in this series followed the pattern mentioned above; that is, the cultural meaning of this site was also modified to facilitate commoditisation and promote tourism. The consequences of the commoditisation of archaeology would be of major significance after the release of this stamp (discussed in depth in the next chapter). Teotihuacan was without doubt of utmost importance in this transition of archaeology from nationalism to tourism. As one of the sites that has shaped the national consciousness most intensively, its relationship with both nationalism and tourism gives it major political, economic, and cultural influence on the country. A brief summary of the cultural history of Teotihuacan will help to explain its importance in the past and for

the present, before I discuss the postage stamp and its implications for the marketing of archaeology.

Teotihuacan is located in the State of Mexico about 45 km north of Mexico City (Figure 48). It contains some of the largest pyramidal structures built in pre-Hispanic America. In addition to the astonishing pyramids, Teotihuacan is also known for the residential areas for families, having between five to eight rooms in each architectural complex. The Avenue of the Dead is the axis (N-S) on which the city was built. Abundant remains of wall paintings have been recorded in different parts of the site. It has been stated that the Teotihuacan civilisation flourished between 100 BC and the change of the era, and lasted until about 550-650 AD (Cowgill 2008:962). It seems that around AD 550 there was a social catastrophe, and the all main temples and features were burned (Manzanilla 2007:36). During this time, Teotihuacan was the largest city in Mesoamerica, and its influence throughout Mesoamerica can be seen in places such as the Gulf of Mexico or in the Maya area. Teotihuacan was a multi-ethnic city, including people from regions as far as Oaxaca, the Gulf Coast, and Michoacán. One of the extraordinary features identified in Teotihuacan has been the existence of a corporate government, including representatives of the different ethnic groups. Original interpretations considering the site as a ritual place have given way to a proposed large urban centre controlling important sources of raw material such as obsidian and other goods. It is estimated that, at its height, the site might contained a population of 100,000-150,000 inhabitants (Cowgill 2008:962; Pohl 1999:52; Sabloff 1989:62). There is no name associated directly with Teotihuacan's people; they are commonly referred to (in Spanish) as *Teotihuacanos*.



Figure 48. Picture taken at the top of the Pyramid of the Moon, looking south. The Avenue of the Dead can be seen above right; the Pyramid of the Sun, above left (Photo by the author 2009).

The first major modern archaeological event celebrated at Teotihuacan was the reception of the participants of the 17th Congress of Americanists in 1910 at the time of the commemoration of the centennial of the Independence (Krauze 2005:135; Tenorio 1996a:110). This event was particularly important due to the huge amount of restoration work in the Pyramid of the Sun. By 1912, Teotihuacan was officially recognised as the only archaeological site open to the public. In 1922, Manuel Gamio published the first archaeological guide to Teotihuacan (Gamio 1922a). by 1962 the number had already increased to 88 sites (Vázquez 1996:106). Since 1980, when record keeping became more systematic, there has been a steady increase in the opening of archaeological sites to the public (INEGI 2004:162-163). Currently, 180 sites have been officially opened, and others are in the process of development; according to my analysis there will soon be 189 sites open to tourists (Figure 49).

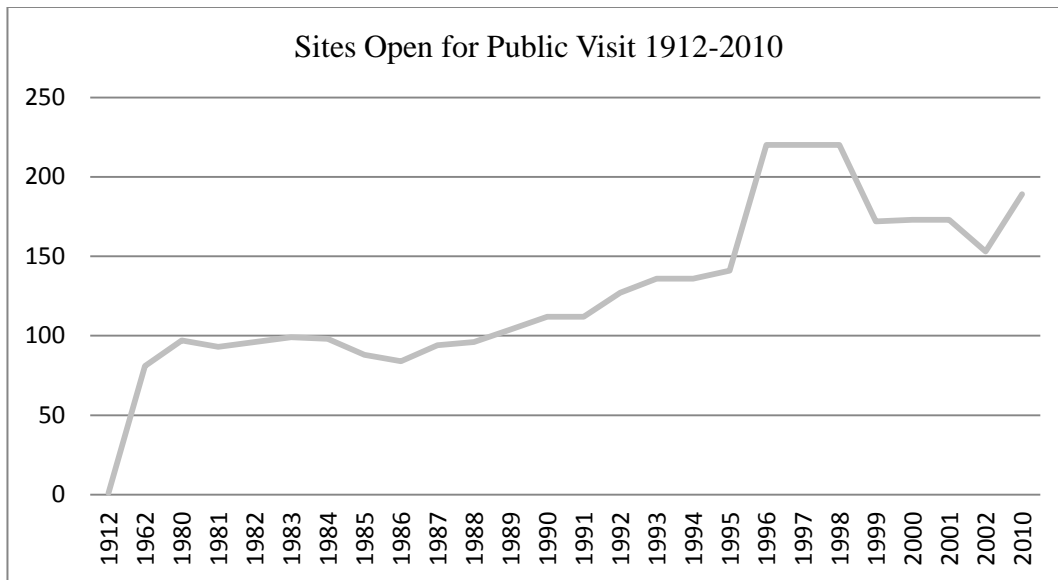


Figure 49. Sites Open for Public Visit 1912-2010.

From the 1920s, Teotihuacan has been a cultural reference for artists, film makers, photographers, painters, politicians, students, archaeologists, local and national villagers, and even for new-agers. This has made the site a permanent protagonist in the creation and re-invention of identities at different levels of society. This appeal has also made Teotihuacan an important centre for touristic pilgrimage. Given the importance of Teotihuacan as a national symbol, the stamp depicting the Pyramid of the Sun and the Olympic Fire [SC 1001] was of particular and singular relevance. This stamp was the only archaeological element included in the final Olympic stamps series (1968). In fact, if Teotihuacan had not been included, archaeological heritage would have been ignored.

The Teotihuacan stamp [SC 1001] also indicates a major change in the depiction of archaeological objects (Figure 50). In contrast to the previous Olympic stamp series, the representation was not simply an object but a pyramid that synthesised a whole site. Further, in the pre-Olympic series of 1965, the archaeological objects had been the main image in the composition, despite the misrepresentation of their meaning as sport activities. Previously, the depiction of isolated objects at the centre of the composition had been used to strengthen nationalism. However, in the last Olympic series (1968) the design was the most important feature, while the archaeological feature was relegated to

the background. In the Teotihuacan stamp the stylisation of the Olympic flame, which emerged from the top of the pyramid, was the most important visual element of the layout, and even the monetary value of the stamp is in a more privileged visual plane than the pyramid itself.

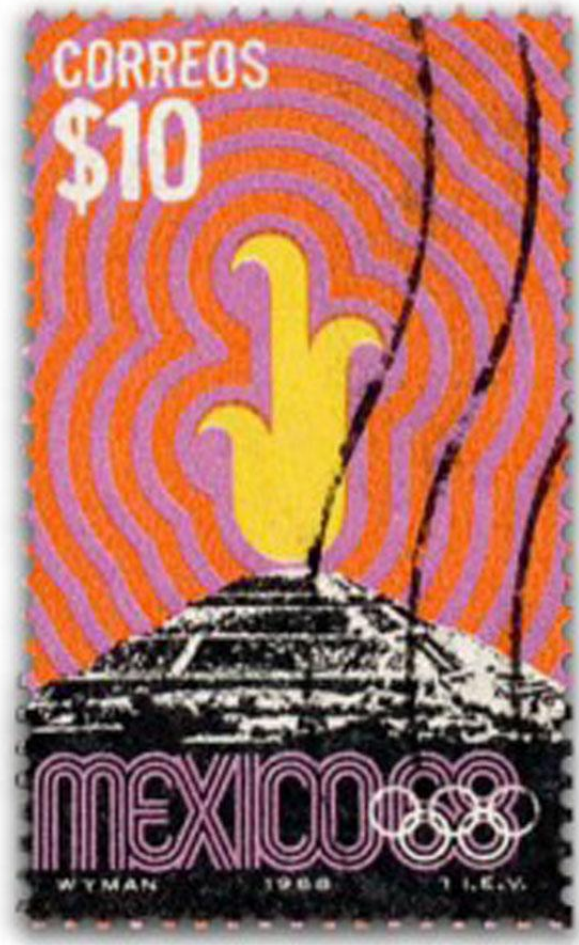


Figure 50. Stamp commemorating the Reception of the Olympic Flame at Teotihuacan [SC 1001].

Teotihuacan holds the Olympic Flame

Teotihuacan became a symbol during the Olympic Games, not simply because of the stamp but also, and more importantly, because of the reception of the Olympic Flame. The Olympic flame had travelled about 13,536 km around the world in fifty days before its arrival in Mexico (COJO 1969a:228). It crossed the Atlantic following Christopher Columbus' route when he first arrived in the Americas on 12th October 1492, and entered Mexico via the port of Veracruz (COJO 1969d:1). From Veracruz it passed through various cities, finally reaching the ancient city of Teotihuacan on the night of the 11th October 1968, ready for the ceremony a day later (12th October). This also was held in this way to commemorate the 476th anniversary of the discovery of America. The unprecedented reception of the Olympic Flame took place in the Plaza of the Pyramid of the Moon. Dancing stands were placed on the plaza and on different levels of the pyramids and on the plaza of the Pyramid of the Moon. It was estimated that a total of 3,000 performers participated in the show. The audience reached 20,000 viewers (COJO 1969d). The organisers mentioned that this event not only celebrated the arrival of Olympic Flame in Mexico, but also held a deeper meaning (Figure 51).

The reception of the Olympic flame in Teotihuacan was meant to join the Western tradition with a remembrance of the pre-Hispanic New Fire ceremony. This ceremony marked the beginning of a calendar cycle (in Western terms this would correspond to a cycle of 52 years). As part of this pre-Hispanic ceremony, wooden branches were traditionally burned and human sacrifices were offered to the gods (Townsend 2009:140). For the organisers, receiving the Olympic flame in Teotihuacan was a means to re-unite ancient western and pre-Hispanic mythologies, and to finally join the New and Old Worlds. The most known poem written by indigenous poet and ruler Netzahualcoyotl (1402-1472) was recited during the show: "I love the singing of the [mockingbird] centzontle, the four hundred voices' bird; I love the colour of jade, and the enervating perfume of flowers, but I love even more my brother, Man" (COJO 1969d:2). Although Netzahualcoyotl had written this poem almost nine hundred years after Teotihuacan had been abandoned, this fact was not mentioned during the ceremony.



Figure 51. Olympic Flame Ceremony at Pyramid of the Moon Plaza in Teotihuacan (images from Cojo 1969).

The ceremony of the Olympic flame on the plaza of the Pyramid of the Moon was perceived as one of the most beautiful events of the Cultural Olympiad and it caused the installation of a light show which had direct influence on the commoditization for tourism of archaeological heritage (see Chapter 7). Additionally, other elements of the pre-Hispanic cultures were deployed as part of the Cultural Olympiad events. Replicas of a ceramic *censer*, the large ceramic pots used in the indigenous fire rituals, were deployed in different parts of the country to commemorate the route of the Olympic Flame, such as the Cuauhtémoc football stadium in Puebla and in several places in Veracruz. In Acapulco, the censer was located on a replica of a pyramidal base of pre-Hispanic inspiration. One of the most unique performances occurred in the town of Jalapa, where local native performers celebrated a dance with a replica of the pyramid of El Tajín (COJO 1969a). An economic and geopolitical shift came afterwards, allowing the

emergence of the mass consumption of Mayan sites (as will be mentioned in the next chapter).

With the discussion presented above I have tried to demonstrate that the organisation of the Olympic Games in 1968 was related to changes in the use and presentation of archaeological heritage. The monopoly that the State has had on archaeological resources has allowed it to manage archaeological heritage either as a means of reinforcing nationalist ideology and to promote tourism. The presentation of archaeology on stamps reveals a complex process of transformation. From being an exclusive tool benefitting nationalism, it became a central part of the tourist package. Its use in the Olympics showed the potential of antiquity to attract tourists. These implications are still debatable issues. Nationalism and tourism represent two reciprocal forces acting in parallel on archaeology as a discipline. This interaction has been present for some time, and it seems it will continue generating controversy for a long period (as will be discussed in Chapter 8).

Conclusions

This chapter has focused on the impact of the organisation of a large sporting event, mainly the Olympic Games of 1968 in Mexico. I have argued that this as similar events result in profound social, cultural, and political changes. The sporting competitions are themselves generally very prominent and visible, receiving substantial international attention in a short period of time. However, the actual competitions are the most ephemeral aspect of these events. The influence of a large sporting event extends beyond its physical completion and one of the most important features is the legacy a large sporting event produces. This legacy has significant consequences for cultural, economic, and political spheres. The organisation of such events allows the host country to advertise itself by creating a series of images propagated, among other means, through graphics. This graphic identity is consumed both domestically and abroad. A large number of promotional campaigns and political speeches are launched both inside and outside of the country, and last for several years. For this reason, the organisers usually pay particular attention to the cultural heritage of the country for the purposes of creating an international image. Although there are differences, this process is similar in each country.

In the Mexican case the gradual assimilation of sports during the first decades of the twentieth century allowed the incorporation of Western sport as part of internal policy and education. This interest led Mexico to participate in a range of large sporting events during the first decades of twentieth century. In the early half of the twentieth century, Mexico did not yet have an important international political presence, as it was considered that the conflicts of the revolutionary struggle (1910-1920) had not yet been overcome. In their search to promote a different international image, after the early 1950s the various governments of Mexico strove to eliminate the view that the armed revolution still persisted, and to present a modern image of a peaceful and reliable Mexico to the world. This slow political change eventually provided the pre-conditions for the celebration of the Olympic Games in 1968. The Olympics were not the only important change in the Mexico in the 1960s. The international scope of the Games they were essential to showcase the modern version of Mexico. This concept was based on a blend

of folklore and internationalism. The result of these new images was synthesised in the official logo of 1968 through a mixture of *Huichol* art with optical art, an innovative design that mixed tradition and modernity, including images of archaeological heritage.

One of the transcendental aspects noticed on the 1960s was the change that occurred in the uses of archaeological heritage. As explained in Chapter 1, until the 1950s Mexican archaeology had been tightly linked with the nationalist narrative of the origins of the Mexican nation. Therefore, archaeology had been used in a monopolistic way by the State. However, during the preparation and organisation of the Olympics a significant transition occurred. The presentation of archaeology in promotional campaigns demonstrates a slow incorporation of the nationalistic archaeology to be included more overtly in the tourism advertising. It was the first time in the history of archaeology during the twentieth century that an important campaign using archaeological heritage to support tourism was carried out. It is notable that afterwards archaeological heritage has gradually entered into an almost imperceptible process of mass consumption in the marketing of heritage. The Olympic series of stamps reflect this transition, beginning with the first issue of the stamps in 1965, and culminating in the representation of the reception of the Olympic Flame at Teotihuacan on the stamp issued in 1968.

The analysis of stamps undertaken in this chapter has highlighted an interesting changeover in the use archaeological heritage. As seen in chapters 4 and 5, the use of archaeological objects to promote nationalism had sought the reinforcement of a national identity based on the pre-Hispanic past, representing the nation itself. However, with the pre-Olympic series of 1965, archaeological objects were, for the first time, used to promote an additional message, in this case, an invitation and promotion related to the then forthcoming celebration of the Olympic Games. In the pre-Olympic series, the objects of the cultures of Western Mexico, due to the apparent resemblance to modern sports activities, were used to promote the western sports which gave them an alternate discourse of tourism. As mentioned, the Olympic fire ceremony held at Teotihuacan later enhanced this emerging relationship between tourism and archaeology.

Additionally, there was a change in the use of images from isolated objects to the depiction of whole sites. Prior to this, pictures on stamps were predominantly objects

where no extra information was included and the location was not specified. However, the stamp of Teotihuacan introduced a new style which would persist in later series, as I explain in Chapter 7. Providing names and other details about the site makes it easily recognisable and therefore potentially accessible for the tourist gaze. The promotion and use of archaeology proved that antiquity was a subject that aroused interest and passion in tourists. The use of objects and sites transformed the essential ways of presenting and consuming archaeological heritage.

The inclusion of archaeological images on stamps in subsequent years would have greater parallels with tourist propaganda, as will be explained in the following chapter. It also reflected a new tourism policy. The type of tourism developed in the Mexican Caribbean was based on sun, sand, and beaches, linked to the grandeur of the Mayan pre-Hispanic past. This led to a great twist for the commoditisation, presentation, and management of the past in from the 1970s. Tourism in the Caribbean has been offered primarily to an international audience; in this area the relationship between nationalism and archaeology has been overshadowed by the relationship between *tourism* and archaeology. The aura of the Mayan Temples has been widely used to attract tourists. As the release of a new series of stamps entitled Tourist Mexico makes apparent, commoditisation of archaeology was successfully achieved. This important relationship is the centre of discussion of chapter 7.

Chapter 7

Light Shows and Narratives of the Past

Every age has the Stonehenge it deserves or – desires
Jacquetta Hawkes (1967:174)

Mexican professional archaeology has predominantly rejected the commercial use of archaeology for tourism. This rejection has been even more explicit, as will be seen in this chapter, in the case of Light and Sound Shows (hereafter lights shows). Among non professionals, archaeology is often seen either as a source of national pride or as a way of adding value to a tourist attraction. For those who see archaeology as useful for nationalism, archaeological heritage must be accompanied by an educational nationalist purpose. In contrast, those who see archaeology's major role in tourism, the commercial exploitation of archaeology is considered as a natural process in the global market. These opposing views are not new, as they can be tracked back many decades, most noticeably from the end of the 1960s. This chapter aims to examine the development of both narratives of the past. It will be suggested that the marketing value of archaeology accelerated after the emergence of light shows in the late 1960s. Through this chapter it will be observed that light and sound shows have been gradually acknowledged mainly in the Maya area, but despite their eventual acceptance, they are still a focus of heated debates. This chapter is divided into three parts: the first provides the context of analysis of light shows, the second analyses the earliest shows installed (1968-1990), and the third section discusses the latest developments in the installation of light shows (2000-2009).

Light and Sound Shows: Illuminating Archaeological Sites

Light and Sound Shows (also known as *Son et Lumière*) are a particular aspect of the marketing of heritage. Archaeological monuments, pyramids, or temples are transformed into a canvas onto which lights and sounds are projected. Generally, during the show, the history of the site is narrated while an array of colourful lights is projected over the central or biggest monuments of a particular site. In light shows visitors spend the majority of their attention gazing at the light while hearing the history of the site. The installation of light shows at major world archaeological sites, some of them inscribed as UNESCO WHS, is a growing phenomenon. Such shows can be found at Abu Simbel in Egypt (MISR-Company *ca* 2006), the Parthenon in Athens (Athens 2009), and Chichén Itzá in Mexico (Yucatán 2008), to name only a few. Another growing trend is light shows created as exclusive performances and special events, with no repetition through the year. For example, in November 2009 Durham Cathedral, another WHS, was illuminated in a four-day festival, and Hadrian's Wall, also a WHS, was illuminated in a one-day light show on March 2010 (Marriage and Webb 2009). Light shows formed part of the millennium celebrations in Egypt (Wynn 2008:279-280) and in 2011 at Machu Picchu to celebrate the centenary of its modern discovery⁴.

Light shows can be analysed in the same manner as any other museum exhibition, where technological developments and characteristics of place and space determine the type of presentation. However, in contrast to standard museum exhibitions, light shows create a very different experience of the site for the public. A light show presentation relies on the spectacular elements of the natural and cultural landscapes, being held at night in archaeological sites. The nocturnal environment, in addition to electric lights and sound effects is certainly different from other museum exhibitions. Pyramids, building foundations, and temples appear and disappear rhythmically with music and light, while a narrator speaks about the history of the site, generally based on ancient books or foundational myths. The quality of a light show is enhanced by the performance of experienced actresses and actors who portray mythical characters to reinforce the stories, and bring them to life. Ancient texts are translated into modern languages. Voices, music, and lights bring the experience of *living in the ancient night* closer. The spectator is an active attendee in the show; for example, audiences are commonly told "the [Temple] of the West is right above *you*; if *you* look at upwards *you* will see it" while lights highlight archaeological features. Light shows create a

⁴ <http://www.machupicchu100.org.pe>

phenomenological experience that combines new technology, archaeological data, and mythological stories.

Despite the growing popularity of light shows, there has been little analysis of them. There are some isolated mentions of light shows, but no specific literature on the subject. Among the publications that have addressed the topic, Elizabeth Marlowe's study is of particular significance. In her analysis of the light show installed at the Acropolis of Greece in 1959, Marlowe pointed out that the daily show was not an extraordinary event taking place on the presentation of the past (Marlowe 2001; Marlowe 2002). Marlowe considers that the light show in Athens could be characterised as any other museum exhibition, and interpreted as an attempt to install the Acropolis into a museum. As is normal for a museum, the light show is a master account that uses the relics of the past at its convenience, limiting its dominant discourse and avoiding alternative histories, dissenting voices or inappropriate questions (Marlowe 2002:7-8). Furthermore, Marlowe claims that the significance of the light show at Athens is found in the set of political relations underlying the show. According to her, the light show of the Acropolis could be interpreted as an essentially political phenomenon. It forms part of a hegemonic discourse currently in vogue in which the most problematic aspects of the past are omitted. Any reminder of the peculiar religious practices of the ancient Greeks, the imperialism of the Athenian politics, and the self-destruction of Roman, Byzantine and Ottoman heritage at the Acropolis is omitted. Any aspect of the history that does not fit with the notion of Greece as the birthplace of reason, humanism, and democracy is excluded (Marlowe 2002:11).

For its part, the introduction of light shows in Mexico has officially been regarded as a major attraction aimed at the diversification of tourist attractions (OAS 1980; SECTUR 1976). The success of the two first shows (1968 and 1972), was triggered by the Ministry of Tourism which published a document promoting the production of a third light show (SECTUR 1976). According to this publication, the normal sensorial perceptions of the audience are enriched through the light and sound shows. The dramatisation of the sounds and the script created "another dimension", giving the impression of a particular input, and creating a deeper meaning for the spectator. Also, it was considered that a light show contained elements that allowed the expression of messages, especially those that describe culture, history, and traditions. For the advocate of tourism, the production of light shows should take advantage of the most visited monuments, especially historical buildings and

archaeological sites. For the Ministry of Tourism, light shows would help in the promotion of Mexico as a modern and developed country (SECTUR 1976:126-127, emphasis in original).

As mentioned in chapter 1, INAH is an omnipresent governmental institution created in 1939 for the protection, conservation, and research of archaeological heritage. It manages all archaeologically-related activities in Mexico (INAH 1972). This includes permissions for excavations, supervision of archaeological reports, management and administration of archaeological sites open to the public, the marketing of archaeological heritage, and also the supervision and evaluation of light shows. Currently INAH has authorised seven light shows (Chichén Itzá, Uxmal, Xcaret, Tulum, Xochicalco, Edzná, and El Tajín, the latter only occurring sporadically). As a result of the success of light shows, there have also been proposals for the implementation of others, in sites outside the most popular destinations for archaeological tourism. In 2008, a proposal was received for the production of a show at El Chanal, Colima. It was not authorised because it did not meet the requirements for the protection and preservation of cultural heritage. Also, the Government of the State of Chiapas has proposed a light show with audiovisual projections at the Mayan site of Palenque (2009), which is currently being evaluated by INAH's Council of Archaeology. Looking at the chronology of the light shows in Mexico, it is possible to identify two major periods in their development: from 1968 to 1990, and from 2000 to 2009 (Table 15 and Figure 52).

Light and Sound Shows at Mexican Archaeological Sites				
	Western Mexico	Central Mexico	Eastern Mexico	South-eastern Mexico
First Period 1968-1990		Teotihuacan		Uxmal Chichén Itzá Xcaret
Second Period 2000-2009		Xochicalco	El Tajín (once in a while)	Tulum
				Edzná
	El Chanal (rejected)	Teotihuacan (in evaluation)		Palenque (in evaluation)

Table 15. Light shows at Mexican archaeological sites (INAH 2009; SECTUR 1976; Vértiz 2009)

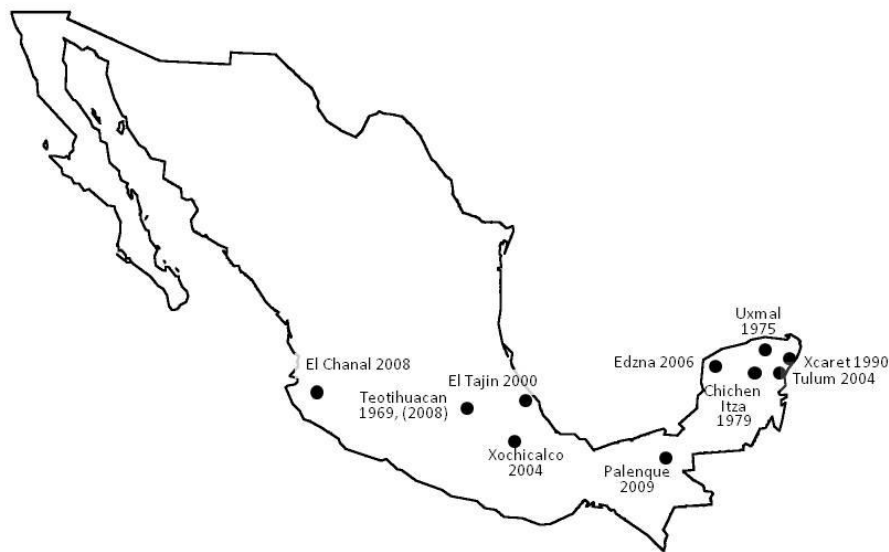


Figure 52. Map of Mexico showing the location of light shows

Light Shows of the first period (1968-1990)

The very first light show ever installed in Mexico was set up at Teotihuacan in 1968. As seen in the previous chapter, this initiative was partially prompted by the success of the Olympic flame reception. A few years after this first display, two others followed in the Mayan area. The first of these was produced in Uxmal (1975), where in addition to being a tourist attraction, it was used as a political argument against Mexican centralism. This light show is still ongoing today. The light show at Chichén Itzá was installed between 1979 and 1980 and is still in production, although over the years there have been some necessary adjustments to the technology and the script and also is still ongoing today.

Light Show at Teotihuacan

The Teotihuacan show included two performances with a capacity for 500 attendees, who were seated on a platform next to one of the Pyramids (the information about which one in particular, whether the pyramid of the Sun or that of the Moon has now been lost). The audience experienced from the platform the unfolding script, music and the spotlight could be heard and seen only for a dollar on top of the cost of the daylight visit entrance fee. The

script, written by the Mexican writer, playwright and television presenter, Salvador Novo, told the history of the site in English and Spanish, in a performance recorded with the voices of by renowned Mexican and North American actors. The background music, created by the Mexican composer, Blas Galindo, was played by the National Symphony Orchestra of Mexico (Zubryn 1968:117). A chorus of more than four hundred voices was specially recorded for the show. Both Novo and Galindo were prominent intellectuals at the time. The impact of the show at Teotihuacan was described by one of the viewers: “the splendour of Teotihuacan, though not total, can be gazed on by the contemporary observer regularly through the light and sound show, which is carried out in the Pyramid of the Sun. Whoever visits the site can listen the story of an indigenous myth, in which Teotihuacan was the place where a god was chosen to be sacrificed to become a living star [*astro vivificador*]” (COJO 1969c:62). The script of the light and sound show was based on the myth of the *Quinto Sol* (The Fifth Sun). This myth refers to the Mesoamerican worldview: the creation of the world, the universe, and humanity. According to this myth, history has gone through four different stages since its inception, each dominated by a different Sun. For different pre-Hispanic groups, the *Quinto Sol* had been created in Teotihuacan. The show was performed for more than 20 years, but was withdrawn by the mid-1980s. It was argued that the installation was more harmful than beneficial to the site and that, additionally, the original technology had been rendered obsolete (Figure 53).



Figure 53. *México Turístico* series [SC C354]. In the lower right the light show is announced as “Luz y Sonido. Teotihuacan Mexico”.

Uxmal Light Show

The first light show in the Mayan area was created in Uxmal in 1975, where in addition to being a tourist attraction it was used as a political argument against Mexican centralism (centred on Mexico City and the Aztec culture). The site is currently managed by the Yucatan State Government through the Board of Trustees of the Units of Cultural Services and Tourism of the State of Yucatán (known as CULTUR, see below). The original script and music introduced in 1975 are still used, although 23 million MXN (about 1.2 million GBP) has recently been invested in a new light show, which opened on May 23th, 2009. The light show was planned by politician, Carlos Loret de Mola (parliamentarian in 1961-1964, Senator in 1964-1970, and Governor of Yucatán in 1970-1976). The production was conducted by renowned Yucatecan citizens, and the screenplay was based on the work of writer Antonio Mediz Bolio and the music of Daniel Ayala Pérez, both prominent Yucatec intellectuals. The voice of the narrator was Mexican-American actor Ricardo Montalbán. The light show was based on theatrical lighting, created by the Dutch Philips company.

In his book, *Confessions of a Governor*, Loret de Mola (1978) reveals that the light and sound show in Uxmal, in addition to being a tourist attraction to increase tourism in Yucatán, also became a personal political project. During the long process of installation, which lasted almost five years, the show was viewed negatively by the President of Mexico and the director of INAH, who harassed Loret de Mola in an unsuccessful bid to cancel the project. A telephone call from Luis Echeverría (LE), then President of Mexico, to Carlos Loret de Mola (CLM), synthesises the tension. The reconstruction of this conversation, as recalled by (Loret de Mola 1978:116), is transcribed below:

CLM - [a night in Mexico City, -March or April, 1972-] ... during one of my constant short stays in the capital, while I was dining at home, a telephone call from *Los Pinos* [Presidential Residence] caught me unaware:

LE -What do you tell me about these trenches by which you are destroying nothing less than the buildings of Uxmal? ...For drilling holes on a pre-Hispanic floor...? President Echeverría, displeased, asked me.

CLM -If I am able to destroy Uxmal I must be removed from the Government of Yucatán and also prosecuted and imprisoned, Mr. President...Please tell Dr. Bonfil Batalla [then General Director of INAH] who surely is with you, that he speaks out without having been in Uxmal, where I have repeatedly invited him to come. I am not destroying. I am, with great difficulties, working on the installation prior to the spectacle of light and sound which will be a large tourist attraction...

LE – All right. Mr. Governor, but to attract tourism, it cannot and it should not be in danger the protection of millenary building of the late Classic Maya...Dr. Marquina - Yes, the discoverer of Bonampak - says that these trenches can affect the stability of the foundations...

CLM -Does that genius know the rocky soil of Yucatán, Mr President?

LE - [...mmm...] Here is Dr. Bonfil, as you supposed. Can you meet him tomorrow at nine in the morning?

CLM - Gladly, Mr President.

In his 1978 book, Loret de Mola noted that the visit he paid to Dr. Bonfil was useful to clarify misunderstandings. He stated that Dr. Bonfil was sympathetic afterwards, and abandoned the usual attitude taken by INAH. According to Loret de Mola, the INAH was a professional advocate of [...useless causes...] and an enemy of the constructive and useful actions regarding the Yucatecan ruins. The phone call, however, led him to realise that the President did not want the show to be installed. In the end, the light and sound show was successfully installed despite some acts of sabotage and lack of cooperation from some people (Loret de Mola 1978:116-117).

An event involving the British royal family further increased the international pedigree of the Uxmal light show. On February 27, 1975, Queen Elizabeth II toured Yucatan in her visit to Mexico. A special event was organised at Uxmal where the Queen inaugurated eight minutes of the light show. Remarkably, the opening of the show was attended by both the Windsor dynasty, and also by a representative of the Maya dynasty, Antonio Gaspar Xiu (believed to be a descendant of the King and builder of Uxmal). Loret de Mola mentions that Queen Elizabeth asked: “Is such an extraordinary and rare Maya dynasty really authentic?” To which the Governor replied: “Curiously, Your majesty, before dining, Prince Gaspar Xiu asked precisely the same about the Windsor dynasty, the Mayans also doubt of the authenticity of British royalty” (Loret de Mola 1978:271).

Loret de Mola openly professed his love for the Maya past, and Uxmal was his favourite Mayan site for hosting political events. The light show was only one of the activities that he often organised at this site. For example, to celebrate his own political victory in the state elections in February 1970, Loret de Mola had a breakfast at the Quadrangle of the Nuns, the central part of the site, together with the then presidential candidate, Luis Echeverría. Special tables were erected for the banquet, and the State Music Band played for them (Loret de Mola 1978:56-57). In April 1972, in a ceremony also held at

the Quadrangle of the Nuns, Loret de Mola awarded the prestigious "Yucatan" medal to archaeologist Eric S. Thompson (1898-1975), considered by Loret de Mola to be "the most recognised world authority on anthropological Maya". The BBC produced a documentary about Thompson's work which was broadcast in Europe; for Loret de Mola, the documentary helped increase tourism to the Yucatán peninsula (Loret de Mola 1978:116).

Chichén Itzá, the star of the show

The light show at Chichén Itzá was installed between 1979 and 1980. It has been maintained over time, with some adjustments to the technology and the script. The historian Mercedes de la Garza wrote the original script that was offered in the early 1980s, but it has since changed several times (Rubio 1993:147). The show was available in different languages. It was based on "The Night of the Mayas" a script specially developed for the show. The show lasted approximately 45 minutes, during which the most important monuments of the archaeological site of Chichén Itzá were illuminated at different times, centred on the pyramid of El Castillo where a projection reproducing the image of Kukulcan, the Plumed Serpent, came down on the steps. The light show was an integral part of a project of tourism promotion to include the archaeological site of Chichén Itzá on a wider tourist circuit (OAS 1980:48,96,111) .

Light shows, particularly in the Yucatán, are not only "must see" attractions, but in addition to their tourist appeal, they are a political phenomenon which reflects a position against the establishment of central Mexico, as seen in Loret de Mola's use of Uxmal. Traditionally the State Government has influenced the management of the most important sites and local control of archaeological heritage. However, the Yucatan light shows are managed through CULTUR, established in 1987 (Gobierno de Yucatán 1987), which has increased local influence. This Board has been the legal and operative mechanism that aims to take advantage of the benefits of tourism, and purports to use archaeological resources for the benefit of the site and its inhabitants. Among CULTUR's many functions, a priority is the national and international promotion of tourism of the archaeological sites.

CULTUR is comprised of representatives of State and Federal institutions, as well as universities, hoteliers, travel agencies, and tour guides. The creation of CULTUR has driven the emergence of a complex network of relationships in the management of the archaeological sites, which is unique in the country. Yucatan is the only state in which archaeological resources management has a strong influence on the state government. It is also the only place where an extra entrance fee must to be paid for some sites (at Chichén Itzá

and Uxmal). This fee goes to the government of the state, as in other parts of the country. CULTUR has been criticized for its open policy of commercialization of archaeological zones, which has been characterized as rapacious capitalism. The position of the CULTUR Board is that Chichén Itzá has become the star of the show. The case of Chichén Itzá reveals that the dominant narrative has been the one of tourism promoters. In this case the light show has been transformed in an important way to attract tourists, but this has not been the only objective. Particularly in Yucatán, the tourist use of the archaeological sites has a strong political connotation.

Xcaret: Disneyfication

Despite the success of archaeological tourism in the Mayan area, during the next decade (1980-1990), there was no further installation of light shows; however, the creation of an amusement park at Xcaret in ca 1990s (both the park and the site are named Xcaret) is worth mentioning. In this park, funded by private investment, the archaeological site lies on the grounds of the amusement park, a situation which has facilitated the commercial exploitation of the site. In the theme park a light and sound show was installed (circa 1990), although the light show does not take place on the archaeological site itself, but on a set. The set is a reproduction of a ball-court game, in which spectators are seated in the adjacent stands to attend a performance based on the moment of the contact between Indians and Spaniards. It is interesting to observe a process of disneyfication⁵ of the archaeological heritage of the Maya at Xcaret (for an example see: <http://www.xcaret.com/archaeological-sites>).

⁵ This concept refers to a cultural transformation or commoditisation that resembles The Walt Disney's amusements parks (Zukin, S. 2004 [1995] *The Cultures of Cities*. Blackwell, Oxford.

Implications of the of light shows' first wave

It is important to recognise that the existence of the first wave of shows was an important indicator of the direction that Mexican archaeological tourism would take over the subsequent decades. The withdrawal of the Teotihuacan show in the mid 1980s, and the refusal to commercialise archaeological sites in favour of the protection of the site, was one of the most important victories for nationalistic archaeology. This idea would be reinforced later by the cancellation of the *Resplandor Teotihuacano* light show project (see below). In the Maya area, the installation of light and sound shows gave rise to a tourism policy that has been developed to the present day. Also, the context in which these shows were introduced allowed a more visible displacement of tourist traffic to the Mayan Caribbean.

Nationalistic criticism against the light show in Teotihuacan

In contrast to the unproblematic relationship between nationalism and archaeology, that of tourism and archaeology has never been easy. Archaeologists, from a very nationalistic position, have overreacted and generally strongly opposed the development of plans for the economic exploitation of archaeological sites through tourism. This attitude is based on the claim that tourism denigrates archaeology, and the idea that due to its significance as identity-maker, archaeology must not be used to make profits (Litvak 1980:52). As a consequence, Mexican archaeologists have condemned the relationship between tourism and archaeology, especially light shows, from the very start.

In the period under analysis in this section, from the end of the 1960s to the 1990s, influential archaeologist Jorge Acosta, who was working at Teotihuacan at the time when the first light show was introduced in 1968, believed that the Mexican government was more interested in commercialising the site than in the preservation of the Pyramids of Teotihuacan. Acosta also considered the light show to be a sort of Hollywood spectacular, and a tragedy. Despite agreeing that the script of the show was interesting because it had been written by Salvador Novo, Acosta felt that “the setting up of electrical wiring, [bulb lights flooding the pyramids], and the music accentuates the corniness of the show” (Acosta interviewed by Zubryn 1968:117-118). However, while installations of the light show were being carried out, Acosta discovered a pre-Hispanic bedrock stairway in the entrance of a natural cave, 103 metres long, over which the Pyramid of the Sun had been intentionally built, and which was previously unknown to modern researchers (Heyden 1974:131).

In the mid 1970s, following this criticism and encouraged by the florescence of Marxist Latin American archaeology, archaeologist Eduardo Matos Moctezuma also criticised the light shows. According to Matos “the real commitment of archaeology was to break immediately with those positions that had made archaeology to be considered as provider of beautiful objects and creator of pyramids”. He mentions that if pyramids are used for light shows [it could drive] to the “misrepresentation and mutilation of the historical truth and that the integrity of the monument was distorted”. Matos considered that archaeologists “must be away from those positions that had made of it a technique at the service of tourism, whose benefit was for private enterprises and not for the people”. He considered that archaeology had to break with the positions pursuing private interests, that “destroy and illegally appropriate the cultural heritage, archaeology then must settle down a real commitment to *our people*” (Matos Moctezuma 1976:107, emphasis added).

Light shows and the displacement of archaeo-tourism to the Caribbean

Commoditisation in the Mayan area has a long history, beginning at the end of the 1960s. The United Nations (UN) was the creator of the original project to internationalise the Maya area (UN 1967), followed by the Mexican Department of Tourism (1968). Afterwards the influence of the government was felt throughout the construction of the CIPs (see chapter 2). The development of CIPs caused a major transformation with the creation of Cancun (1968-1972) and later developments until the present day, including major tourist projects such as the *Mundo Maya* (1992), and has had a major cultural impact (Evans 2005). Many subsequent tourist programmes sponsored by the Secretary of Tourism have included promotional campaigns for Mayan archaeological resources. To date, Mayan heritage has been very significant for tourism promotion. Special programs, workshops and training are held specifically to increase the commercialisation of Mayan heritage (see for example: SECTUR 1995; SECTUR 1996).

The UN programme consisted of the implementation of a plan for tourism development including four countries in which vestiges of the Mayan culture were found (Mexico, Guatemala, Honduras, and El Salvador). The UN participation highlighted the fact that tourism was then considered as an important element in the growth of developing countries. The archaeological sites were a central element in the marketing strategy. In total nineteen monumental archaeological sites of the area were mentioned (including Chichén Itzá and Palenque). This programme was developed over a period of four years, beginning in

1968. The majority of the economic resources, infrastructure, and specialists would be provided by the UN. Each country would participate to the best of their abilities with corresponding specialists and infrastructure (UN 1967).

UN specialists (mainly sent to do fieldwork inspections) presented an evaluation of the conditions in which archaeological sites were found. One interesting additional aspect was to assess the conditions of infrastructure in the surroundings, that is, whether there were hotels and restaurants, and whether the sites were near a road or highway. Distances from major cities to the archaeological sites were calculated (e.g. Chichén Itzá to Mexico City, Villahermosa, Mérida, and Guatemala City). The type of services that should be built to meet tourist demand was proposed based on this analysis. Some of the tested sites were evaluated as to have potential for tourism, although at the time of the analysis, that sites were not considered to represent any attraction in themselves, but "taking into account other resources of the region they could potentially be a generator of tourism" (UN 1967:2 annex Comalcalco).

In the UN evaluation it can be seen that in the mid-1960s tourism in the Maya area was very different from what it has become today. In Palenque, for example, there were no tourist facilities of any kind, except the steward selling refreshments to visitors. In Bonampak there were no facilities at all. At Chichén Itzá, "a parking lot had been improvised, and although in a rudimentary way, it was a nice small place for resting and toilet services" (UN 1967). In Uxmal, there was also an improvised parking lot, and the steward sold refreshments to visitors; although there were toilet services, installations could be improved. The last two sites, due to their proximity to Mérida and easy access, regardless of their facilities, had a considerable influx of visitors (UN 1967). This description contrasts radically with the impact of tourism today, especially with the protracted battles to control the archaeological heritage (as I discuss below). Since the times of the 1960s, the Mayan area has been targeted for the marketing of heritage more aggressively than anywhere else in the country.

It must also be considered that in 1968 the then Department of Tourism created a list of one hundred archaeological sites of tourist appeal (CEDOC/SECTUR 1968: my emphasis). It was a working document that remained unpublished, apparently being for internal use by specialists of the Department of Tourism. Although brief, this document provides interesting data about the change in the political and economic use of archaeology. It includes description of architectural features, cultural groups, location, and directions to reach the

sites, whether by car, plane, walking, or even by horseback. Most of these sites are located within the area of nuclear Mesoamerica, with the exception of five sites in northern Mexico (Chihuahua and Zacatecas). The listing also includes sites associated with the Olmec, Mixtec, Zapotec, and Totonac, among other cultures (see CEDOC's list in Appendix V).

Archaeological sites such as Edzná, Bonampak, Palenque, Yaxchilán, Chinkultic, Templo Mayor, Tula, Teotihuacan, Xochicalco, Mitla, Monte Alban, Tulum, La Venta, El Tajín, Chichén Itzá, and Uxmal can be found in the listing. Importantly, a third of the sites mentioned are Mayan -related (32%). The second most represented are Mexica sites, but with only 8% of the total number of sites. Altogether, sites of Teotihuacan culture (including of course the site of Teotihuacan) hardly amount to 7%. It is interesting that 62% of the 180 sites listed by the CEDOC are open to the public today and that among these nine are declared WHS (out of eleven in Mexico). This listing was not accidental. It was the result of a long process that had begun some years earlier to commercialise the Mayan area.

Since the creation of the CIP, on the Caribbean, a geopolitical change of tourism has been reflected in the opening of new resorts (the first was Cancun, opened in 1972). It also led to a profound transformation in the way that archaeological tourism had been promoted before then. The recipe of sun, sand, beach, and antiquity was a novel combination. In the Maya area, more than anywhere else in the country, archaeological tourism has been promoted as a pastime, together with the traditional educational perspective (as will be discussed in Chapter 8). The economic benefit generated by international foreign exchange has been of major significance. In recent decades, foreign visitors to some archaeological sites, generally in the Mayan area, dominated over domestic visitors (the contrary happens in central Mexico). In the Mayan area the commoditisation of the past has been treated as any other commercial product.

Because of their international appeal, Mayan sites have been trapped in a world tourism circuit. It has been a normal characteristic of this area, but it has been especially prominent after the 1990s. At that time a new kind of tourism emerged, more selective, closer to nature — ecotourism — which dominated the “Riviera Maya”, especially in the area stretching from Cancun to Tulum. The Riviera Maya includes hotels and other facilities in a continuous area over 130 km (Córdoba and García 2003:121-122). This development has increased the commoditisation and exploitation of Mayan sites and Mayan archaeological

heritage (see, for example, The Explorean Kohunlich⁶). In more recent times the Cancun development has been used as a model for the creation of cultural theme parks such as Xel-Ha, Xcaret, and other archaeological sites included in a triangle formed by Cancun, Tulum, and Chichén Itzá. These developments have been very successful in attracting more international tourists. It is highly significant that the tourist-oriented international audience has been only slightly greater than domestic tourism, as shown in the visitor statistics for the south-eastern states of Mexico. The Mayan area is practically the only area where the number of foreign tourists exceeded domestic tourists. The chart below includes information for sixty-two archaeological sites, located in the states of Campeche, Chiapas, Quintana Roo, Tabasco, and Yucatan, most of them associated with Mayan archaeological cultures (with the exception of La Venta) (Figure 54 and 55).

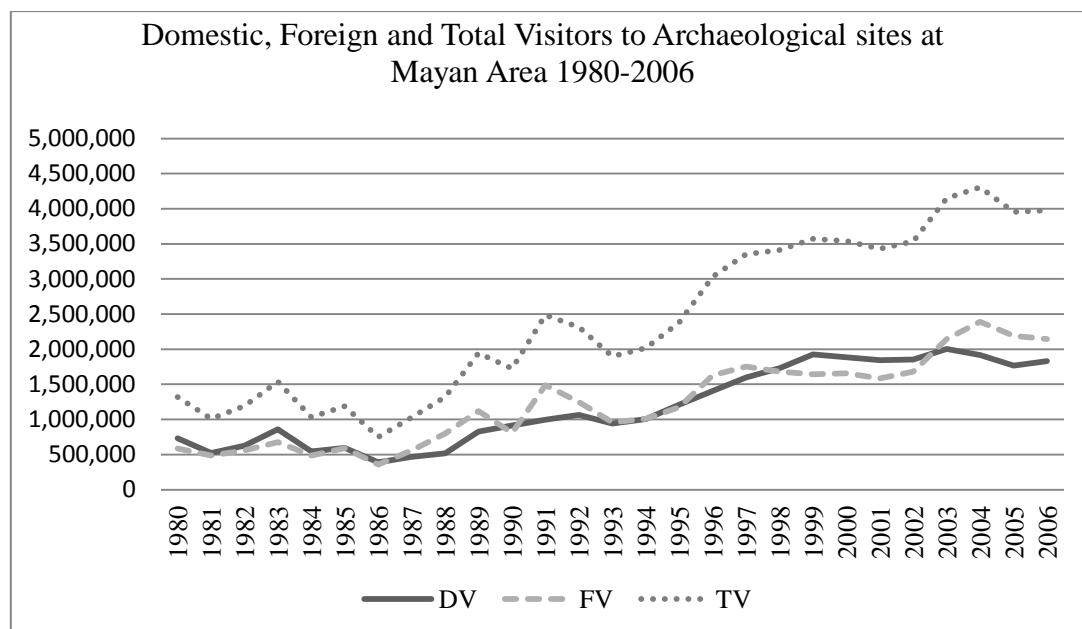


Figure 54. Trajectory of visitors to Mayan sites

⁶ <http://www.theexplorean.com>

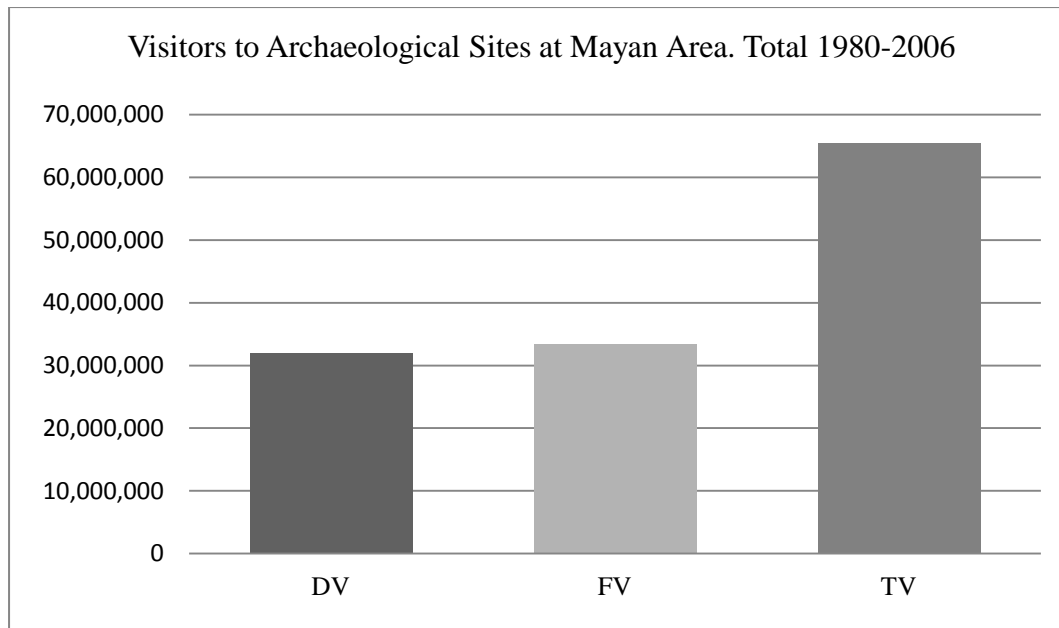


Figure 55. Comparison of Domestic and Foreign Visitors to Mayan Sites

In this accelerated process of commercialisation of Mayan sites after the 1990s, Chichén Itzá has been used more intensively as a stage, or perhaps an “ancient-stage”, for musical performances. CULTUR has organised a long list of concerts in which both classical and rock musicians have performed in the last two decades. Luciano Pavarotti (1997) was the first, followed by the Millennium concert, in which renowned Mexican jazz artist Eugenio Toussaint performed (2000); later came Plácido Domingo (2008), Sarah Brightman (2009), and finally Sir Elton John (2010). These shows have not been presented without problems and caused disputes between the nationalists and promoters. The Plácido Domingo concert (2008), for example, was the most debated (Cruz and Boffil 2008). This concert was organised in order to commemorate the twentieth anniversary of the declaration of Chichén Itza as a UNESCO World Heritage Site. The matter was complicated because the concert was announced before the appropriate permits had been approved by INAH, although in the end the concert was performed after the agreement between INAH and CULTUR.

In addition to its domestic impact, the popularity of Chichén Itzá has played a central part in economic globalisation. Chichén Itza was nominated to become one of the New Seven Wonders of the World. The controversial selection process has been criticised because it was based on a media vote. The final decision was not evaluated by a scientific, cultural or any other qualified committee but by the number of votes that were made on the internet. It has been noted that the organisers had not measured the tourist and media impact that would

be caused by the propaganda that was involved. For example, with the participation of transnational corporations was. Coca-Cola in Mexico printed the image of El Castillo, the main pyramid at Chichén Itzá, onto 25 million cans of soda to promote the event. The case of the New Seven Wonders of the World shows that the sites in the stage of globalisation are subjects of international promotional campaigns, which have little or nothing to do with local contexts, or with the real needs of the archaeological sites.

As seen through this section, light shows of the first wave can be distinguished by the context in which they originated. The light show in Teotihuacan was part of one process of changes in the presentation of the past, while the light shows in the Maya area awakened an early interest in potential of this area for tourist exploitation. These early shows demonstrate the various forms in which archaeology has been managed and presented. In central Mexico, and particularly at Teotihuacan, the light show was used to critique the existence of tourism in archaeology. Mexican archaeologists expressed concern about the negative impact on archaeology caused by tourism. On the other hand, the political success of the light show at Uxmal would be the beginning of a long relationship between tourism, power, and Mayan archaeological heritage.

Light Shows of the second period (2000-2010)

The second wave of light shows at archaeological sites had a considerable increase after 2000. A new perspective of marketing archaeological sites resulted in a growth in the inclusion of archaeology as part of tour circuits. Since the beginning of the Millennium four shows have been installed in archaeological sites, with an enlarged impact on tourism. In the second wave of shows, light and sound are characterised by being immersed in a much more complex context. Advances in technologies, in addition to the success of mass tourism, have increasingly attracted larger audiences. The existence of light and sound shows today has widespread acceptance. A handful of INAH's archaeologists have softened their criticism of the installation of the shows, issuing favourable opinions. However, light shows are not generally accepted as a part of the presentation of the past because they are viewed as being directly related to commercial interests; for example, attracting night tourism creates a demand for overnight stays in hotels in the vicinity. The case of the Maya sites remains one of the most complex relationships because of the multiple interactions between ideology, power, and tourism (Figure 56).



Figure 56. Map of Mexico showing the location of all ongoing light shows from 2000 to 2010

El Tajín: Light performances for the Summit Cultural festival

El Tajín is an important site of *Totonaca* archaeological culture in which a light show has been installed. It is one of the most controversial and commercialised Mexican archaeology sites, and has a long history with tourism. The installation of the light show was associated with a cultural festival called *Cumbre Tajín*, or Tajín's Summit (2000) which included concerts, cultural events, and the light show. The *Cumbre Tajín* was originally held inside of the archaeological site. According to INAH, El Tajín lacks a permanent light show. However, from 2004 it has been taking place outside the central archaeological site within the polygon that encloses the archaeological park. Despite its positive image of success, it is not necessarily welcomed by local communities who have fought to gain access to the economic revenues. Also, it shows that archaeological tourism depends on external inputs to achieve its apparent success. The massive presence of visitors at archaeological sites is related to external factors such as the organisation of this type of festival and tourism promotion.

El Tajín demonstrates that the historical content of the sites has faded into the background for the sake of tourism and entertainment. El Tajín, ranked by INAH's classifications as an AAA site (the most important in term of visitors, budget, management and so on), was also included in UNESCO's World Heritage list in 1992. Overall, the number of visitors varies with the influence of political and mass tourism inputs. The chart below shows the numbers of visitors from 1980-2010. It can be seen that there is an irregular curve that does not necessarily represent the "success" of tourism. It is a chimera that shows over-exploitation of cultural heritage according to economic volatility. The path of this chart shows precisely how the impact of visitors is determined by external factors. Light Shows mainly have been used to promote visiting the sites as a hobby or pastime. Modern events celebrated there have been detrimental to the protection and the essence of the site. An exponential growth can be seen from 2000, reaching a peak in 2004, falling dramatically in 2005, and after this point visitor numbers appear to decline permanently (Figure 57).

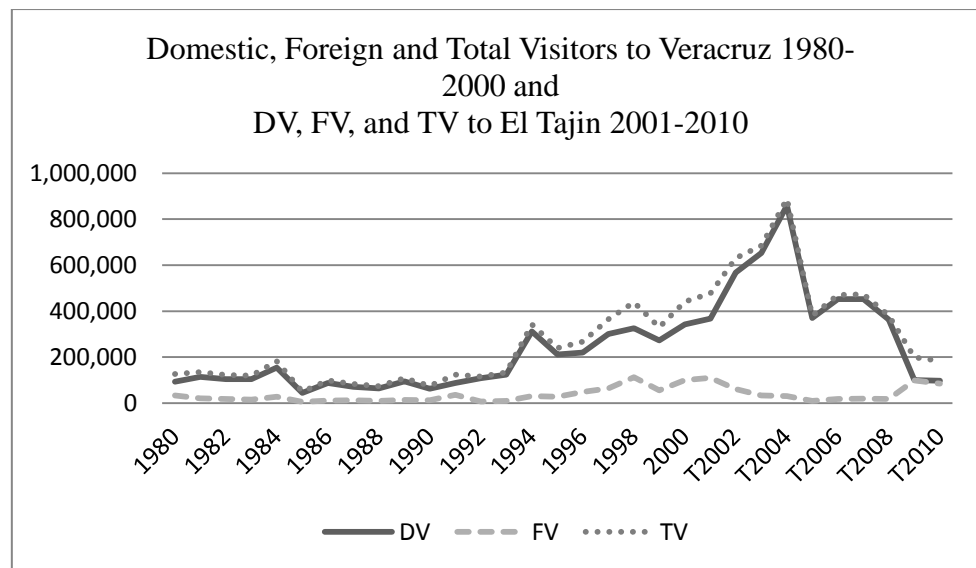


Figure 57. Visitors to archaeological sites in Veracruz, Mexico. After 2000 statistics refers just to El Tajin

Tulum at Night

The Mayan site of Tulum, perhaps more than any other, cannot be disassociated from the commercial exploitation common in the Maya area. The State of Quintana Roo has thirteen archaeological sites open to the public. Tulum is the most important of these in terms of number of visitors and economic revenues and is considered to be one of the most significant sites in the Post-classic Maya period (AD 1200-1400). The central area of Tulum is a small, walled cluster settlement approximately 405 meters long by 170 meters wide, surrounded by approximately fifteen important temples or structures. The most well known is called, as in the case of the main pyramid at Chichén Itzá, El Castillo (The Castle). It was built on a cliff on the seashore. It has been interpreted as the most important construction of the whole settlement (Vargas 1995:62). El Castillo has been, to date, the predominant image of Tulum, either in nationalist ideology or tourism propaganda. Despite its small size and its limited carrying capacity, it is the third most visited site in the country. In 2004 it received 1,071,286 visitors, of which 65% were foreigners, and in 2007 it generated around 44 million MX (2 million GBP) in entrance fees (Figure 58).

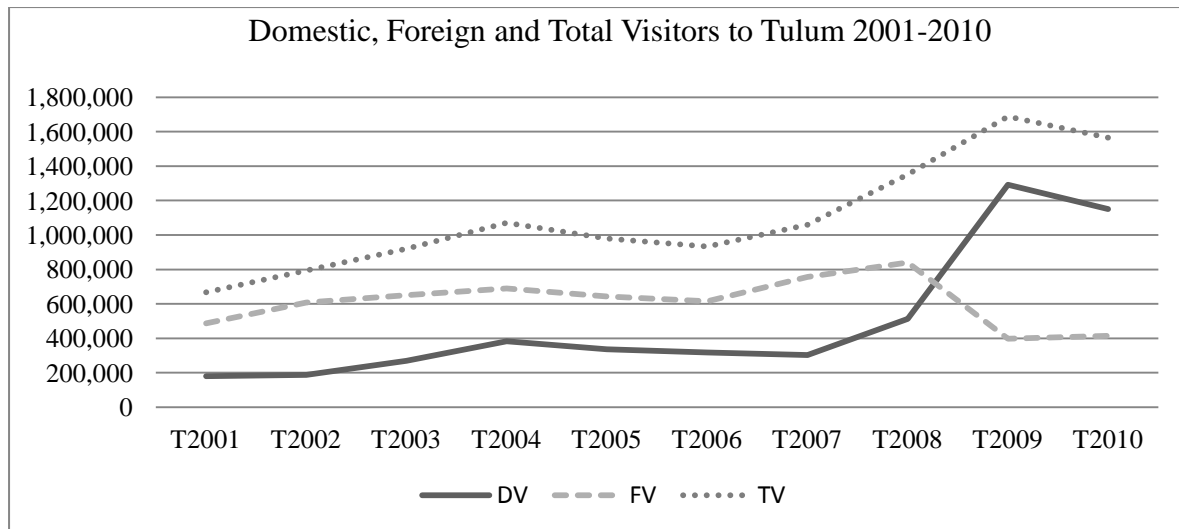


Figure 58. Visitors to Tulum 2001-2010

In the Mayan area light shows began to be installed again, beginning with Tulum in 2004 (Figure 59). A low-impact technology was used for the light show on this site. The archaeological corridors are illuminated then the spectator experiences the show within the site. After the health crisis of 2009, the light show was suspended, and even though it has been reinstated it has not been performed with the same frequency with which was originally promoted. The show includes audio but does not have projection water-screens or groups performing, as in other sites. According to tourism promoters, night visits to this archaeological site offer a unique experience enhancing knowledge and perception of archaeology. It is certainly true that the archaeological buildings are illuminated without affecting the structures, which provides another novel view in which it is possible to appreciate details which in the light of the day are more difficult to distinguish. The lights were placed at ground level therefore no excavations were needed, and they were encapsulated so as to appear to be rocks, thus avoiding impacting the archaeological structures either physically or visually. The performance is not considered a traditional light show, but rather a nocturnal visit. The show consists of a night walk through the trails of the site to see illuminated the main monuments, like El Castillo or the buildings of the inner enclosure and the northern part of the walled area, which includes other important buildings of the site.

Tulum's success as a tourist destination is related to its rare natural and cultural conditions. It lies on an area with no developed urban settlements, and as a result the only lights on the site during the night visits come from the archaeological illuminations. The

proximity to the shore makes it more impressive; it is the only Mayan archaeological site open to the public which is directly bathed by the Caribbean Sea. The tour is accompanied by an audio guide that relates the history of the site, the role of the buildings, as well as providing an explanation of the Mayan world view. This is available in Spanish, English, French, and German. The access ticket price was in 2008 of 200 (MXN), with an additional 105 (MXN) for the audio guide, which in total is roughly five times the fee for a normal visit during the day (50 MXN).



Figure 59. Tulum at Night. in French, German, Italian and English (Brochure Promotional Campaign 2009). The image on the centre of the brochure corresponds to El Castillo.

Xochicalco: Experience the Magic at Night

Additional light shows have also been installed in central Mexico. One of them is at Xochicalco (2004). Tourists watch the light show from a considerable distance from the pre-Hispanic monuments. Stands were especially built for the purpose of keeping the tourists outside of the archaeological site. The light show includes a multimedia educational event, audio, projection screen on water, and exhibitions with dance performances.

In contrast to their extreme negative criticism of the touristic uses of archaeology, recently a handful of INAH's archaeologists have expressed a more positive opinion of this light show. A technical supervision at Xochicalco in 2005 helps to illustrate a more positive perspective. Xochicalco, which is one of the most important sites in the State of Morelos, was

declared a World Heritage Site by UNESCO in 1999. Like other monumental sites, it has been depicted in postage stamps [C229], although this stamp is not part of the Tourist Mexico Series. These facts demonstrate that Xochicalco has been placed within both the national and international consciousness. In their technical report to INAH, archaeologists Beristain and López maintain that the installation of a light show at Xochicalco was unique for several reasons. The profits would be reinvested directly into the study and maintenance of the site through a twenty-year management plan. They also argued that it was unique because the overall strategy was part of a programme of regional integration between tourism and local communities. In their view, once the tourist circuit was formalised and strengthened, the benefits would be distributed within other sectors of the local community. Funds for the implementation of this project were provided by the state government and administered by the Ministry of Tourism (Beristain and López 2006) (Figure 60).



Figure 60. Light and Sound Show at Xochicalco (Promotional Campaign 2008). “Experience the magic of night”, “Night walk in the Site Museum and lighting of the archaeological zone of Xochicalco”.

Beristain and Lopez considered that the show at Xochicalco contained a well developed scientific script with data from archaeological excavations. It covered the chronology of the site, apogee and collapse, as well as relevant information about the original building of the main pyramids. The show lasted for approximately twenty minutes. The seats for spectators, with capacity for 200 or 300 people, were located at a distance of about 500 meters from the archaeological structures, in an area next to the Site Museum. The light show was built following ecological principles, powered by solar energy. The location of the bleachers is privileged, exploiting natural embankments which give a dominant visual perspective. According to Beristain and Lopez the weak aspects of the light and sound show were that it lacked “dramatic tension”, theatricality, and emotion. Despite the overall positive assessment of the show, they considered that some improvements should be made. The balance between the movements of the music and lights should be re-structured to make them more harmonic. They also recommended “democratising” access to the show by reducing the elevated entrance fee for people with low incomes. In general, the light show was considered to be positive. Importantly, it was highlighted that installation of cables and spotlights were superficial and had been carried out following protocols of protection. No disturbance or damage was done to the archaeological structures (Beristain and López 2006:21-22). The show performed its sixth season from November 2010 to May 2011.

This positive experience of the commoditisation of archaeology has been repeated in other important sites. In a recent work about multivocality, beneficial aspects of tourism and the setting up of light shows have been pointed out.

Edzná: sites for multivocality

The last light show officially installed was at Edzná (2006), also in the Mayan area. Resources for the installation were provided by the Government of the State of Campeche through the State Ministry of Tourism. The show includes audio but no water screen projections or dance displays. According to Benavides, Edzná has the largest number of visitors in the state of Campeche. Benavides considers that tourists visit Edzná because of the considerable number of consolidated structures as well as its proximity to the capital of the State. Additionally, the site became a tourist attraction since the city and its harbour were added to the World Heritage List by the UNESCO in 1999. According to Benavides, recognition from UNESCO has increased tourism throughout the state. A private company installed the show, which takes place on weekends as well as weekdays. Benavides considers

that the show has fulfilled expectations, in that the light show has increased tourist traffic to the archaeological site (Benavides 2008:225).

For Benavides, the majority of visitors to Edzná can be classified as tourists, national and foreign. According to him, their primary interest is to familiarise themselves with the ancient architecture and gain some knowledge of the Mayan culture. The tourists wander in the areas open to the public, read the signs that briefly explain the archaeological interpretations of various buildings, and take pictures. The new light and sound show provides a different perspective of the ruins, according to Benavides. He states that at night, visitors no longer see grey walls and great masses of architecture; rather, the buildings are showered with different tones of lights that move according to the sound of traditional music or according to the themes developed in the narration. For Benavides this is a new way of perceiving and understanding the past, getting closer to the ancient Maya thorough sounds, voices and music that combines their message with brilliant colours (Benavides 2008:226).

Resplendor Teotihuacano, the extreme

In contrast to Edzna and Xochicalco, a new light show planned at Teotihuacan, under the name of *Resplendor Teotihuacano* (Teotihuacan Shine) has resulted in major conflict between those who opposed –mainly archaeologists- and those who supported it –politicians-. *Resplendor Teotihuacano* was part of a major Tourist Regional Programme including seven municipalities in the Valley of Teotihuacan. Apart from the light show, visits to haciendas and ex-convents were also promoted (Orive, et al. 2009:56-59). This light show was a tourist-oriented project aiming to illuminate the Pyramid of the Moon, the Pyramid of the Sun, and the northern part of the Street of the Dead. There were going to be two nightly shows, with the possibility of choosing audio in one of eight languages. A video was planned to be projected while a narrator recounted the history of the site. The global electronics company Philips, which has sponsored light shows in Mexico over the last thirty years, would provide the lighting equipment and training for operators, while a national private company would set up the installation system. Sixty percent of the fee entrance would go to INAH, while the remainder would be used for promotion and operation costs by the Minister of Tourism and State of Mexico Government. The light show took six years to be planned, under the supervision of the Ministry of Tourism and the government of the State of Mexico with a collaboration agreement with INAH. According to official reports, despite the importance of the show, and the supposed previous works during those six years, no archaeologists with

expertise in Teotihuacan were asked or invited to collaborate in the creation of the script of the show (Figure 61).



Figure 61. Web page sponsored by the State of Mexico Government and Ministry of Tourism announcing the light show as: “Resplandor Teotihuacano. A New Experience. Coming Soon”. www.resplandorteotihuacano.com [retrieved 25th May 2010]. By 2011 the domain name had expired.

As the preparations for the installation of the show advanced, a political struggle for the control of archaeological heritage emerged, with INAH at the centre of the controversy. By December 2008 the installation of cables and lamps for *Resplandor Teotihuacano* was almost completed, with 90% of the cables and lights at the Pyramid of the Moon, 75% on the Pyramid of the Sun, and 65% on the Street of the Dead installed. These facts are remarkable because they triggered multiple public complaints in newspapers, reports in magazines, and many critical political cartoons. It was evident through viewing the pictures and reading the news that the installation of cables and lamps of the light show was visually aggressive. For a more informed reader, it was clear that the design violated national and international regulations for the conservation and preservation of archaeological sites. At the height of the controversy diverse institutions related to the management of archaeological heritage, both national and international, sent specialists on different areas of knowledge to evaluate the design of the show. The project is currently under evaluation and still the subject of heated debate.

As seen in this section, the enhancement of archaeological sites with light shows has increased in the last decade. It can be seen that the majority of the shows have been installed at Mayan archaeological sites, where there has been complex system of commoditisation and commercialisation, very different from that found in central Mexico.

Despite the fact that the majority of the shows are in the Mayan area, it is worth noting that a more moderate view by archaeologists has prevailed, except in the case of Teotihuacan (where one need not be a specialist to realise the damage to the archaeological structures). It can be observed that light shows are being accepted as a viable option for the presentation of the past, though from a limited point of view. However, controversies remain. The erosion and damage to sites due to the exploitation of archaeological resources for the benefit of tourist is an argument that the nationalists, and other sectors, have promoted against the use of the past for commercial purposes. However, light shows of the second wave demonstrated that the presentation of the past can be marketed without violating the protection and ideological use of archaeology according to the traditional nationalist values.

Conclusions

The installation of light shows has caused heated debates and remains controversial. Debates have highlighted contradictions concerning the function and management of archaeological resources. In the cases under study, two conflicting narratives are evident: tourism and nationalism. The first, represented by the advocates of tourism, seeks the use of heritage with a commercial purpose pursuing the exploitation of archaeological resources as part of a widened tourist circuit. The second, represented by both radical and moderate nationalists, consider that the exploitation of archaeological sites must have an educational purpose, linked to the ideology of nationalism and identity. These two narratives have clashed over time, especially when light shows are under discussion. However, both narratives have several voices and opinions. Not all advocates of tourism are enemies of the protection of archaeological heritage, and not all nationalists are working for INAH, nor do they all hold extreme views. Certainly, there are differences that must be understood in the context of particular circumstances. For the purpose of the present analysis, the separation of these diverse opinions into mutually opposed positions – the nationalists versus the promoters of tourism – has allowed their contradictions to be constructively assessed.

The light and sound show at Teotihuacan marked the beginning of the commoditisation of archaeology through light shows, and can be taken as a starting point for a new concept of tourism. The presentation and uses of the past was substantially altered with the installation of the first light show in Teotihuacan. The general context within which it occurred, i.e. the celebration of the ceremony for the reception of the Olympic flame at Teotihuacan, could be considered as the catalyst for this new relationship between tourism and archaeology. On the other hand, the inclusion, and exclusive repetition of Maya archaeological sites demonstrated a displacement of archaeological tourism from central Mexico to the Caribbean. Along with sea, sand, and sun, archaeological sites were created as one of the main tourist destinations, and the rapid commercialisation of archaeological heritage. In addition, a substantial number of proposals, generally funded by international bodies (UN) and the local and federal government of Yucatán, has eventually increased archaeological tourism in the Maya area.

For its part, the nationalistic narrative has been based on the criticism of light shows, especially those installed at Teotihuacan, but not limited to this site. The nationalist model had used archaeological sites solely for their ideological function, therefore any attempt to

use the sites aside from this perspective has been considered negative for both the physical and ideological erosion of archaeological sites. Tourist commoditisation of archaeology has been considered dangerous and denigrating. Contradictions and tensions occur generally against those shows that are proposed predominantly used as a tourist attraction without considering essential aspects for the protection of archaeological features. In this respect the light show *Resplendor Teotihuacano* was an easy target for the nationalists, who correctly critiqued the design of the project. Despite criticisms, the installation of light shows has been successfully achieved at other sites. Light shows have been installed taking into account both antagonist narratives. Some light shows have been set up positively, with a novel way of communicating history (Xochicalco, Tulum, and Edzná, for example). However, although the light shows in the Mayan area, especially Yucatan, are critiqued by nationalists, the dominant discourse has been that of the advocates of tourism.

The creation of a new tourist destination in the Caribbean (Cancun) also allowed the acceleration and international promotion of the Maya area, especially sites such as Chichén Itzá. Light shows in Yucatan have been used to justify the management of cultural resources as a State prerogative but, importantly, the upkeep of light shows has been directed against the internal colonialism of the nationalist model. Uxmal, for example, was used to enhance and justify a political project and inspired an anti-centralist feeling. Alternatively, the light show at Chichén Itzá demonstrates the tourist potential of sites to be used as backdrop for musical performances. This site, probably more than any other in Mexico, has crossed national borders (both physical and ideological). Its nationalistic function seems to be partially gone; it is more visible for and by tourism. The nomination, originally as a World Heritage Site (1988), and later as a New Wonder of the Modern World (2007), shows that in the era of globalisation archaeological sites cannot be understood solely within the traditional nationalist functions.

Archaeological heritage is at the centre of a debate in which two general tendencies have claimed the right of managing sites according to their own interests, either nationalism or tourism. However, in between there are many more groups of diverse affiliation, either professionals or non-academics, with a wide range of associations and different perspectives. It includes those inside the government, private entrepreneurs, or new agers who also claim the right of property or stewardship of archaeological sites, either for ideological uses or commercial purposes. Certainly, as the opening quote of this chapter affirms, every age has *the past* it deserves or desires (Hawkes 1967:174).

Chapter 8

Educational and Pastime Archaeo-Tourism in Guidebooks

This chapter presents an analysis of guidebooks, with an in-depth examination of two different manners of presenting and commoditising archaeological heritage. After the creation of INAH in the late 1930s, the expansion of nationalism through archaeological tourism was encouraged, particularly for a domestic audience (1930-1970), with a discreet but firm and convincing educational orientation. Such social and educational tourism has been an essential component of INAH's nationalistic orientation. In the 1970s the emphasis changed, and the promotion of archaeological sites as a tourist pastime increased (1970-2000). This type of tourism, usually associated with other attractions, has relied on the economic potential rather than the cultural history of the sites. In the first part of this chapter, after a brief description of the history of guidebooks, I will look at INAH's educational tourism through the analysis of official guidebooks. In the second part, I will focus on the analysis of pastime tourism for which commercial guidebooks will be analysed. This chapter aims to demonstrate that guidebooks are an important means of promoting and maintaining these two different types of archaeological tourism and, importantly, sustaining and justifying different narratives about the past. Guidebooks provide relevant information not only in terms of content but also through the date of publication. Guidebooks analysed in this thesis include INAH's *Official Guides* and the *Mini Guides* series, published in Spanish, and the English-language publications by *Lonely Planet*, *The Rough Guides*, *Blue Guides*, and *Footprint*. The central idea of this chapter is to demonstrate that a guidebook is not an isolated cultural product, naïve and simple, but the reflection of political, ideological and economic contexts. Two particular means of presenting and enjoying the past are discussed: educational and pastime tourism.

Guidebooks: from simplicity to symbolic markers

Guidebooks, as they are called today, have their origins in the first edition of John Murray's *Handbook for Travellers on the Continent* (Murray 1838 [1836]). This guidebook was published for those travellers going to the Netherlands, Belgium, Prussia and northern Germany. It includes descriptions of major cities, museums, galleries, major roads, interesting and picturesque districts, the most popular beach bathing areas, travel advice and directions, and maps. The essential idea of the Murray's guidebooks was to assist travellers in planning the trip and provide them with basic information about accommodation, cultural recommendations, clothing, and sight-seeing. This format was indeed the model for subsequent guidebooks, such the Appleton's collection (Conkling 1884; ND 1881 [1870]; Williams 1853), and other specific guidebooks for archaeological sites (Shepard 1893) and museums (Sharpe 1862). These early guidebooks are generally thick volumes with a large format. They were edited by a single person, who travelled to get updated information, and who generally gathered information from a variety of other sources. These guides were targeted at a small audience.

The first decades of the twentieth century saw increased optimism in the growth of tourism. This led to the creation of specialised guidebooks for more exotic destinations. Examples include a guide to Japan (Society 1905), specialised guides for visiting different attractions such as European Reformed churches (Good 1910), archaeological sites (Rivela and Pernull 1905) and museum exhibitions (Wallis Budge 1909). In 1915 and 1918 "pocket-guidebooks" for the United States and Canada (Harman Black 1915) and the "Blue Guide" to London and the surrounding areas (Muirhead and Muirhead 1918) were launched, marking a fundamental change to the format of guidebooks which has continued to the present day. The physical size of the books became smaller and the writing style changed, including the change from the pronoun "he" to "you", reducing gender exclusion and giving the impression to readers that the author was caring for the reader. The targeted audience increased with the success of tourism, and the authorship of guidebooks became collaborative, rather than each guide being the isolated work of an individual.

The tourism industry shrank during the interwar period, although publishing houses such as Footprint and Blue Guides continued printing guidebooks. Their impact was limited by the effects of war, and the restriction of travel due to the slow post-war recovery and related economic and social conditions. The growth of the tourism industry was also limited

during the interwar period, with a reliance on domestic and public rather than international travel. Tourism recovered after the 1950s, and guidebooks began to appear again.

The recovery of international tourism was reflected in the boom in the publication of guidebooks after the 1970s. Since then, guidebooks have become omnipresent, and are almost synonymous with mass tourism. They were an essential element of the tourism industry, and the most influential guides for mass consumption originated at that time. In 1973 the first *Lonely Planet* guide was published (Wheeler and Wheeler 1973), and in 1982 the first *The Rough Guide* was launched (Ellingham 1982). In recent years tourist guidebooks have enjoyed massive popularity. Up to 2006 *Lonely Planet* had published 1,802 volumes, including reprints (Melbourne University 2011), whereas the *Blue Guide* has 324 titles in 2008 (not including reprints) (Blue-Guides 2009). At present there are a huge number of guides released by publishing houses throughout the world. The best internationally-known commercial guidebooks published in the English language include *Berlitz*, *Moon Travel Handbooks*, and *The Pocket Travel Company*. Official guides are also published by government-sponsored institutions all over the world; for example, the *English Heritage* and the *National Trust Handbooks* in the UK (English Heritage 2007; National Trust 2009).

Mexico in Guidebooks

In Latin America, Mexico's case is exceptional. It is practically the only Latin American country (perhaps together with Peru) regularly appearing in English-speaking guidebooks, with the first references being included from mid-nineteenth century in Appleton's guide (Conkling 1884). Additionally, the publication of some guidebooks was the result of increased interest in Mexico on the part of American shareholders, who saw in the natural and cultural wealth an ideal combination for investment (Barrett 1902-3; Hale 1909; Ober 1884; Riedel 1892). In modern times publishing houses mentioned above such as *Lonely Planet* (Noble, et al. 1995 [1982]), *The Rough Guides* (Fisher 1995 [1985]), *Footprint* (Hutchison 2002 [1990]) and *Blue Guides* (Collis and Jones 1997) have published guidebooks to Mexico, some of which have been translated into Spanish (Allan 1999).

Guidebooks were also produced locally in Mexico beginning in the middle and late nineteenth century. Some were basically directories containing lists of the addresses of politicians, colleges or universities, the location of embassies, and a long repertoire of "useful knowledge" (Galvan 1842; Nepomuceno 1852). One example with a strong ideological content aimed to authenticate the dictatorship of Porfirio Díaz (de Cardona 1892). The first

visitor guides to the Exhibition rooms of the National Museum were also published at that time (Galindo y Villa 1896, 1906). The first part of the twentieth century was an obscure period due to the lack of political stability and the outbreak of the revolution; as a result it was not possible to detect or classify any of the guidebooks produced. An exception is a guide to Teotihuacan published in 1922 (Gamio 1922a). Further research in federal and local archives may reveal additional publications.

Currently, the analysis of the presentation of Mexican archaeology in guidebooks is a virtually unexplored field. Only a few references on this topic can be found in the literature. Castañeda (Castañeda 1996:153) includes a brief section mentioning guidebooks for Chichén Itzá, and also Rodríguez (Rodríguez 2003) has pointed out the importance of the analysis of guidebooks. However, no systematic research has been carried out. To fill this gap, this chapter will examine the role that the guidebooks have had in the commoditisation of archaeological resources. Mexican archaeological sites have been visited in the last ten years by almost ninety million tourists. This popularity has been largely due to nationalistic policies in which the past, especially archaeology, has become an object of idealistic devotion. Archaeological sites, in addition to being essential in the creation of identity, have represented a very important area of tourism development, eventually being transformed into major tourist destinations.

With the increasing interest of mass tourism to visit monumental archaeological sites in the second half of the twentieth century, guidebooks began to be produced more systematically. Since the 1950s the INAH has been producing guidebooks to archaeological and colonial monuments. The *Official Guides*, as they are called, have had several different formats since they were originally published, but the format has generally been very similar to technical archaeological reports. As discussed below, the permanent publication of the *Official Guides* has been part of a larger project of promoting cultural heritage from the institutional perspective of nationalism. It is interesting to note that the INAH, as the institution responsible for the investigation, was at the same time boosting educational tourism with the production of these guides.

Since the 1970s the situation has become much more diverse than in the 1950s. Private printing houses, sometimes associated with the government, took advantage of the country's tourism potential to begin a period of mass publication of guidebooks. While there are some gaps in the available archival information, the first guidelines associated with the

private sector were published during this period. In 1976, for example, the magazine *México Desconocido* (Unknown Mexico) began to appear monthly. Although this magazine does not have the conventional characteristics of a guidebook, it provides a range of information for tourists, and has become the main means of promotion for local mass tourism and enjoys great popularity (recent circulation has reached up to sixty thousand copies). In more than thirty years, four hundred issues have been published.

A proliferation of guidebooks, both government-sponsored and privately-funded can be observed after the 1990s. Among the government guidebooks are a collection published by INEGI between 1992 and 2002, including guidebooks to all States of the Republic (eg. INEGI 1992, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002). Private collections are even more diverse. A notable collection of privately published guidebooks named *Mini Guía* (hereafter *Mini Guide*) was launched in 1990. There were 32 guidebooks covering all of the States of the Republic, and the Mini Guide's collection is the most important indicator of a new phase of massive publications for promoting tourism. Today commercial and institutional guidebooks can be found everywhere (Nueva Guía 1993a, b, 1994), which demonstrates the significance of guidebooks in the tourism industry.

Educational Tourism: INAH's Official Guidebooks

We should not, in the modern world, lose ourselves under the power of tourism;
over the country's need of attracting more foreign exchange
there is the need of every scientist and every science: the truth
(Alfonso Caso 1968:47)

As mentioned in chapter 2, in the first half of the twentieth century archaeological tourism in Mexico was promoted from an educational perspective aimed primarily at a domestic audience. Indeed, this type of tourism has been a hallmark of INAH's educational role. As discussed elsewhere in this thesis, archaeological sites were developed and promoted as a novel way to teach the pre-Hispanic past and also, importantly, as a means of reinforcing a national identity. Archaeologists, aware of the sites' educational potential, contributed positively to the development of archaeological sites for public access.

INAH's Official Guides

Educational tourism was the subject of increasing focuses in the mid-1950s when INAH began to publish a long-standing series of guidebooks to archaeological sites, colonial buildings, and museums. Guides to Palenque (INAH 1955), Chichén Itzá (Ruz 1955), and Monte Albán (INAH 1957) were the first to be published, under the name of INAH's Official Guides. These guides were enormously popular, and rapidly achieved great success as indicated by an exponential growth in publication in a relatively short time. Beginning with two guides published in 1955, the number grew to twenty-six guides in 1969. In some cases circulation reached fifty thousand copies (i.e. Acosta 1965). The *Official Guides* are medium sized (A5) and contain between 19 and 70 pages (Figure 62 and Table 16).



Figure 62. Cover of Malinalco INAH's Official Guide (García Payón 1958)

INAH's Guidebooks	1955	1957	1958	1963	1969
Altavista-Chalchihuites				•	•
Calixtlahuaca				•	•
Cempoala				•	•
Chichén Itzá	•	•	•	•	•
Copilco		•	•	•	•
Cuicuilco		•	•	•	•
El Tajín		•	•	•	•
La Quemada				•	•
Malinalco			•	•	•
Mitla		•	•	•	•
Monte Alban		•	•	•	•
Palenque	•	•	•	•	•
Templo Mayor		•	•	•	•
Tenayuca		•	•	•	•
Teotihuacan		•	•	•	•
Tula		•	•	•	•
Tulum				•	•
Uxmal		•	•	•	•
Yagul		•	•	•	•
Ciudades Mayas					•
Museo de la Cultura Huasteca					•
Museos de Tabasco					•
Sala de Cultura del Golfo			•		•
Sala de Cultura Maya		•	•		•
Sala de Cultura de Occidente					•
Museo Nacional de Antropología		•	•		•

Table 16. INAH's Official Guidebooks 1955-1969

The *Official Guides* have a homogeneous style, with some slight variations. In some cases they resemble an academic report (Ruz 1959); other versions are more like an edited book (INAH 1967), while others use more colloquial language, without abandoning a scientific terminology (INAH 1963). A number of elements soften the technical language and create a more accessible text, but the overall style remains academic (INAH 1955). A characteristic feature of the *Official Guides* is that they do not include promotional advertising, having been produced by a governmental agency. The *Official Guides* include photographs of the main features, sketches, and drawings that help to explain the text and illustrate the site. The architectural description of monumental features such as pyramids, stele, ball courts, and typical artefacts such as ceramic pots or typologies are the main subject of the body text. The information is focused on the description of the site and some aspects of its cultural history, but its discursive aspect hardly extends beyond the physical boundaries of the site.

Among the entire collection of *Official Guides*, the one for Teotihuacan (Acosta 1965) is the most sophisticated, and offers a more complex itinerary for visitors. Archaeologist Jorge Acosta, the author, invited the tourist to be part of the history, recommending routes that could be followed. There were two ways to get around the site, either on foot (for which five hours was recommended) or by car. A map containing the major attractions to be visited was attached. Acosta proposed that the route "should always" begin at the site's museum, so the visitor was better informed during the actual visit to the site (Acosta 1965).

The *Official Guides* were produced pursuing an educational objective aimed primarily to promote domestic tourism and nationalism; English versions were also published. Texts, photographs, and drawings were made by important archaeologists such as Alberto Ruz (Ruz 1955), Jorge Acosta (Acosta 1965), and José García Payón (García Payón 1958) whom had a deep commitment to the ideals of Mexican nationalism. In the late 1960s, most prominent Mexican archaeologists advocated educational tourism as an indispensable part of the national project. One of these was Ignacio Bernal, who in the *Official Guide* to the archaeology rooms of the then-recently inaugurated National Museum of Anthropology (opened in 1964) pointed out that "this is not an art museum but a historical museum. The fact that many of the objects are ancient art works is a welcoming addition to the main message: to know and understand as much as possible the meaning of indigenous Mexico and relate it to the united Mexico that we all want to forge" (Bernal 1967:6).

Román Piña Chan, a very prestigious Mexican archaeologist, observed that one of the objectives of the inventory of archaeological sites in Mexico would be to highlight the potential of certain of those sites to become “wonderful tourist sites” (Piña Chan 1967:7, my emphasis). He also mentions that Palenque could become one of the most spectacular pre-Hispanic sites in Mexico which, together with the additional Mayan sites of Yaxchilán and Ixapa, would deserve to be incorporated into the cultural heritage of Mexico (Piña Chan 1967:25-27). The *Official Guides* certainly reflect the fact that the promotion of tourism as a pastime has never been the objective of the opening of archaeological sites.

In this section I have concentrated on the first era *Official Guides* (1955 to 1969) for the simple reason that they demonstrate in a clear and unambiguous way that visiting archaeological was related to the enhancement of national identity. The *Official Guides* are also significant because they were constantly reprinted without major changes in the wording or the information provided. For example, the Chichén Itzá *Official Guide*, originally published in 1955, was reprinted several times until 1969, keeping the same content and the same format. This shows that this educational project remained consistent, and was enhanced not only through the *Official Guides*, but also by virtue of being made by the archaeologists themselves, whose fieldwork contributed to the first nationalistic interpretations of Mesoamerican cultural history. Equally significant was that the *Official Guides* were produced by the same editorial crew (supervised by Jorge Gurría Lacroix, then chief of INAH’s Department of Publications). This nationalistic impetus was expressed in the *Official Guides*, including the ethical, political, and social aspects of how the public should be educated through visiting archaeological sites.

Day trips and TV broadcasting

Excursions or one-day trips to archaeological sites were also an important part of INAH’s educational project. For this, the *Official Guides* were part of a major project led by the Department of Cultural Promotion and Divulcation of INAH, founded in 1957 (Bali 2003 [1988]:449). The archaeologists, architects, and historians who wrote the *Official Guides* were also those leading excursions and broadcasting lectures on TV. For instance, in 1961 the INAH’s Department of Cultural Promotion and Divulcation organised 48 excursions (from one- to five-day trips) to cultural attractions, including visits to the main archaeological sites. Most of these were one-day trips made on Sunday (77%) while the rest, depending on how far the locations were from Mexico City, had to be made over several days, scheduled for

weekends or holidays (INAH 1961:15-16). It must have been a privilege to tour archaeological sites with the guidance of specialists, who were also enthusiastic promoters of nationalism and educational tourism. Some of the more prominent specialists who participated in these tours (and associated sites) included the renowned archaeologists Alberto Ruz (Palenque), José Luis Lorenzo (Malinalco), José García Payón (El Tajín, Castillo de Teayo or Cempoala), César Sáenz (Xochicalco) and Román Piña Chan (Comalcalco or Edzna), among others. TV interviews also formed a part of educational tourism, including programmes called "Historical Tours" in which those archaeologists mentioned above, along with other experts, were interviewed; these programs were broadcast on a schedule that did not coincide with working hours (INAH 1961-16).

Cultural tourism, virtual and actual site visiting

Although the editorial format has changed, the *Official Guides* are still being produced by INAH, together with others produced by private publishers, but always following the spirit of educational tourism and nationalism (Angulo 1979; Barrera Rubio 1987; INAH 1978; Matos Moctezuma 1996 [1991]; Peña Castillo 1982). Archaeologists have assumed INAH's substantive tasks in the propagation of educational tourism in the *Official Guides*. In addition to the promotion of the guides, there is a huge collection of flyers and brochures, which together have helped the promotion of educational tourism as one of the essential aspects of archaeological resource management by INAH. All of these brochures, as seen in the *Official Guides*, are written by professional archaeologists. They provide an overview of the sites including maps and photos (Bruggemann, et al. 1993; García and Medina 2008; Marchegay and Ramírez 2007; Pérez, et al. 2007 [2002]; Serra Puche and Durand 1992; Uribe 1995; Valencia 2008).

The format of excursions to sites still exists under the current name of *Viajes Culturales* (Cultural Tours) promoted through the slogan "To ImagINAH. Cultural Tourism. The Adventure of Knowledge". The educational orientation is maintained, but adjusted for modern audiences. Information is periodically published in a lavish brochure (both printed paper and digital formats), which provides the schedule for the trips. As in the 1960s, this ongoing programme is an INAH-controlled activity, monitored and supervised by INAH's staff in addition to archaeologists and specialised tour guides. This tourism is also mainly oriented to a domestic audience, as evidenced by the message on the back cover of each

guidebook that the rich cultural heritage of Mexico "encourages us to know, protect, and from generation to generation to pass it on" (INAH 2008a, b). The tours are targeted to a middle class sector, and while they are not too expensive, the fee is an extra expense that the working class can ill afford. These cultural tours are an intellectual and educational leisure option which has existed for approximately fifty years.

INAH has been mindful of the transformations in modern technologies, and offers to the public, from virtually anywhere in the world, at no extra charge, a digital site visiting the top ten Mexican archaeological sites (INAH 2011). The incorporation of new technologies has enhanced the presentation of the past from an educational point of view. Virtual tours via the Internet have been incorporated as an important means to promote educational tourism. There are virtual tours for 10 major archaeological sites (Altavista-Chalchihuites, Chichén Itzá, Comalcalco, Malinalco, Palenque, Templo Mayor, Teotihuacan, Tlatelolco, Xochicalco, and Yaxchilán), produced under INAH's supervision. Private or institutional promotional advertisements are banned in these tours, which make archaeological heritage available to any person.

Social site visiting

As mentioned above, INAH performs a task of utmost importance for social and educational guidance, as they are responsible for the ownership, management, protection, and conservation of 180 archaeological sites open to the public, including 11 which have been designated as World Heritage Sites (see Appendix V). An entrance fee is charged at 106 of these sites, including 29 site museums; 68 sites are free of charge (including nine site museums). In a hypothetical visit to all of them, the cost of access would total 218 GBP (equivalent to 4,156 MXN, rate conversion made in 2010), which is relatively cheap if one considers the facilities each provides, such as museums, flyers, brochures, guides, gift shops, restaurants, resting areas, and so on.

To illustrate the educational orientation of INAH's platform, a specific case is observed. The State of Mexico has traditionally been the major destination for tourists to archaeological sites. In 1995 the State of Mexico received 3,986,276 visitors, which is the largest number of visitors that has been recorded in the history of archaeological tourism. Teotihuacan is among the sites located in the State of Mexico, and has been the site with the largest influx of visitors: on average 85% of the flow of tourists into the State of Mexico is associated with Teotihuacan. Of the total of 20 archaeological sites in the State of Mexico, 13

are free (including 3 site museums), and at 7 an entrance fee is charged (including 4 site museums). If a tourist should decide to visit all the archaeological sites of the State of Mexico, the total fee to be paid would be 14 GBP (271 MXN). That means that for every archaeological site, the tourist would pay 0.71 GBP (13.55 MXN), including access to 7 site museums. It must also be mentioned that admission is free for nationals and students on Sundays and holidays; on weekdays students, children, and those aged over 60 are admitted free of charge (Figure 63 and Table 17).

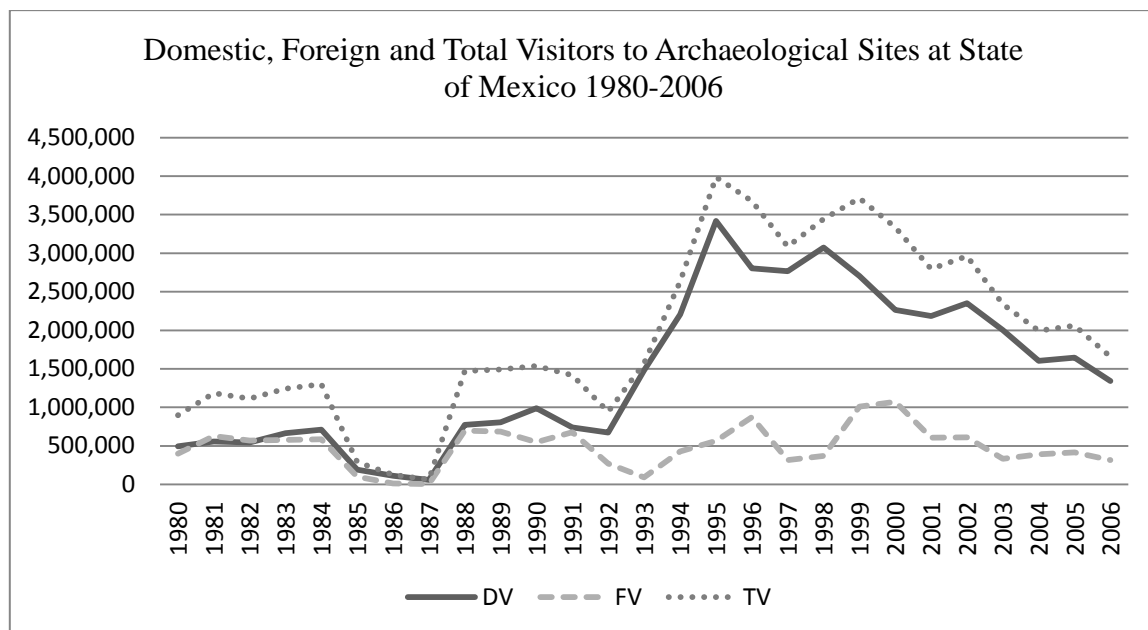


Figure 63. Visitors to State of Mexico's Archaeological Sites

Site's Name	Entrance Fee November 2010 in MXN [1 GBP= 19 MXN]	INAH's Category Fee	Museum
Teotihuacan	51	AAA	• (2 Museums)
Malinalco	41	A	
Tenayuca	37	B	•
Santa Cecilia Acatitlan	37	B	•
Tenayuca II	37	B	
Calixtlahuaca	37	B	
Tlapacoya	31	C	
Chimalhuacan	Free	Free	•
San Miguel Ixtapan	Free	Free	•
Teotenango	Free	Free	•
Tepexpan	Free	Free	
Huamango	Free	Free	
Acozac	Free	Free	
El Conde	Free	Free	
Ocoyoacac	Free	Free	
Los Reyes	Free	Free	
Huexotla	Free	Free	
Los Melones	Free	Free	
Texcutzingo	Free	Free	
Los Pochotes	Free	Free	

Table 17. Sites open to the public at State of Mexico

As noted, INAH's *Official Guides* together with day trips, site visiting and virtual tours have created the basis of a robust and well structured educational tourism. This has been one of the most important ideological platforms for INAH. This tourism orientation has traditionally had the unconditional support of official archaeologists, and has largely been attached to the nationalist platform. The political aim to educate people through visiting government-sponsored archaeological sites has led to the development of one of the most intensely nationalistic archaeologies worldwide. Also, it is highly likely that INAH's educational tourism is the only one of its kind in the world. The *Official Guides* were, and continue to be, directed primarily towards a domestic public, with the covert aim of enhancing nationalistic feelings.

The *Official Guides* have fulfilled their main task of promoting educational tourism linked to the national project. However, new inputs, such as the nomination of Mexican sites as World Heritage Sites by UNESCO, and the constant attempts to make archaeology

profitable, have transformed this idyllic picture of educational tourism. As seen in the statistics included above, since 1992 there has been a drastic oscillation of visitors to sites. The swing seems to be more related to the marketing campaigns and political promotion tied to the official neoliberal economic perspective. The *Official Guides* have started to lose ground and fall behind in a context of changes and transformations generated by the massive presence of international tourists. The increased presence of international tourists indicates a profound cultural change in the manner in which archaeological sites are integrated into social life.

In this section I have discussed how the educational component of tourism has a long tradition in Mexico, involving the important work of INAH as a tourist promoter as well as taking into account the social and *educational* social platform mainly orientated to a domestic audience. Although this aspect has been extremely positive, one of the major problems for INAH is that this type of tourism has never been integrated into the federal legislation – tourism is a non-existent concept in INAH's federal legislation. Using this legislative void, certain sectors of neoliberal orientated governments, in conjunction with the private investors, have sought to advance an economic perspective in the exploitation of archaeological sites. As seen in Chapter 6, after the Olympics of 1968, successive governments have shown a greater interest in decentralisation and privatisation of archaeological sites in Mexico. In conjunction, all these factors have created what can be described as pastime archaeological tourism. This is the focus of the next section.

Archaeo-tourism as a pastime: Commercial Guidebooks

Despite strong currents of machismo and nationalism in their make-up, Mexicans are in general friendly, humorous, and helpful to visitors – the more if you address them in Spanish, however rudimentary.
(Lonely Planet /Noble, et al. 1995 [1982]:45)

A recent edition of *New Horizons* magazine, from Newcastle International Airport, featured one of the most frequently recurring images that portrays tourism as the ideal holiday at the seaside. A mother embraces and carries a pre-teen girl, both of them wearing bikinis, and they melt in a hug with beautiful smiles. The beach scene is framed by a blue sea and a small mountain in the distance. On the cover the message is reinforced: "Sunshine all the time: escape to the beaches". "Protecting your holiday: simple steps to your peace". "Inspiration for the holidays: Florida, Cancun, Turkey, Toronto, and more". As expected, the content of the magazine is oriented to sun and sand worshippers. Inside the magazine pictures and written information invite the viewer to have great fun and relaxation (Laws 2009).

This scene, and the content of the magazine, is relevant for this research because in the inside pages the Mayan site of Tulum is marketed. This site has the fortune (or misfortune) of being located on the Caribbean coast above a small cliff where two beautiful beaches are found. The most exploited tourist image of Tulum has been that of the background for the perfect holiday (New Horizons 2009). It can be observed that in addition to the traditional sun and sand holiday, archaeological tourism is added to provide a different touch in the promotion of mass tourism. Tulum is one of the few archaeological sites in the Mexican Caribbean in which tourists are likely to "hang out" wearing sandals, shorts and even bikinis. In this context, Tulum becomes another destination in the extensive range of holidays promoted by commercial guidebooks (Fay 1999:295). However, this scene is not unique to Tulum. Archaeology has been the most persistent imaginary in the Mexican Caribbean in general, and also, is a normal component in commercial guidebooks.

Commercial guidebooks

As explained earlier in this chapter, from the 1970s archaeological tourism has been intensively promoted for its economic benefits. The inclusion of Mexico in a global economy, the signing of international treaties and the organisation of international sporting events, has led Mexican tourism to be projected to an international audience. This international scope has resulted in a more systematic exposure of archaeological sites to

commercial tourism. Archaeological tourism has moved from being the target of education ~~an~~ (as seen above), to being an additional part of tourism tour. Private entrepreneurs, including national and international consortia, have been keen on the promotion of the spectacular sites, which have been eventually converted to a product on the market. The use of archaeology as a tourist attraction will be discussed in this section, using an examination of both domestic guidebooks (in Spanish) and guidebooks published predominantly for an international audience (in English). In the first case I will focus on the *Mini Guía*, while the guidebooks in English examined here are those produced by the *Rough Guide*, *Lonely Planet*, *Blue Guide*, and *Footprint*. In these guidebooks archaeological tourism is offered as part of a broader tourist circuit, and a visit to ancient sites is an additional rather than a main attraction.

Although the commercial guidebooks analysed in this research display similar characteristics, they also have distinctive features. Those written in Spanish (*Mini Guides*), have a “closed” discourse. There is no feedback between writers and readers. The collection of *Mini Guides* was printed in one edition and never again reprinted. The information included was obtained from official institutions. By contrast, English guidebooks (*Lonely Planet*, *The Rough Guides*, *Blue Guide*, and *Footprint*), present an open-ended discourse. They are written by professional travellers, and the feedback between producers, writers, readers and tourists is reciprocal. The discourse varies and changes through comments and suggestions and is reprinted every few years. Commercial guidebooks present the information in an easy to understand manner, combining history and archaeology with the best cocktails and hotel deals. Nevertheless, commercial guidebooks as a whole show that virtually any place or activity are a potential tourist attraction. They show the ways in which certain practicalities are intertwined within the *global* and the *local*.

In the case of Mexico, the publication and success of commercial guidebooks for mass tourism has to be understood in a more general context. The signing of international treaties, such as the UNESCO convention in 1972, and the organisation of international sporting events such as the 1968 Olympics and the 1970 Football World Cup, allowed Mexico to become part of the global economy of tourism. In archaeology, this period is more clearly distinguished from the 1970s onwards, when visiting archaeological sites began to be promoted as pastime along with other attractions. As seen in the previous chapter, in the last four decades archaeological tourism has been slowly displaced from a central focus of nationalism to an additional feature in a broader circuit of tourist attractions. The interest of private enterprises and stakeholders, along with State initiatives, has focused on the

promotion of spectacular sites. These sites have become a central product on the cultural market, prestigious to sell and perfect to engage to the public in the ethos of shopping and tourism as a leisure activity.

Archaeology in *Mini Guides* for a domestic public

The *Mini Guide* series was a collection of 32 pocket guides launched in 1990, produced by Carlos Amador (eg Amador 1990a, b, c, d, e, f, g; Amador 1990h, i) (Figure 64). Amador is a businessman in the television industry, better known for his work as head of *Tele-Guía*, a TV guide which has been produced for more than fifty years, which features details of celebrity gossip and entertainment industry news. The team of collaborators involved in the *Mini Guides* was also associated with the world of entertainment, such as Chela Bracho, who was a promoter of TV horoscopes and astrology. Although the *Mini Guides* were produced as a private business, the information received was provided by Federal and State Ministries of Tourism. The sponsors included multinational companies such as Fuji Film, Bacardi and Company, and American Express as well as national companies such as *Tele-Guía* and *Casa Vergel*. This is significant as private entrepreneurs nationwide began using archaeological heritage for commercial purposes in a manner which marked a departure from the educational focus of the previous decades in the *Official Guides* produced by INAH.

The *Mini Guides* were aimed at a mainly domestic audience, promoting tourism to three general destinations: sun and beach, natural attractions, and cultural attractions (such as colonial monuments, archaeological sites, and gastronomy). The *Mini Guides* also included a map, information on climate, details of festivals, and a list of hotels. All of the guidebooks were designed to follow a format of 64 pages in a pocket-sized (10 x 13.5 cm), easily manageable book. They are printed on “rag paper” (*papel estraza*), and as result the product quality is poor. On the front and back cover the advertisements stand out. The central part of the cover usually features a photograph of a distinctive feature of the State, such as the Pyramid of the Magician at Uxmal in the Yucatan *Mini Guide*, for example. At the top and bottom of the cover, the mottos and logos of sponsoring companies are placed, dominating the space and attracting viewer attention. The back cover features only advertisements for the sponsoring companies: “Capturing the beauty of Mexico with FUJIFILM. The Best Picture” or “American Express Card is welcomed at the best premises in Yucatán”.

The production of the *Mini Guides* represented an important transition in the presentation of archaeological sites as a tourist destination. *Mini Guides* can be considered as

an operational strategy of the neoliberal Salinas government. In these guidebooks archaeological sites were stripped of their aura of nationalism and identity, entering fully into the arena of the cultural market. Cultural attractions are offered as part of a leisure circuit in which the tourist may chose a beach, a desert, a colonial building, or an archaeological site. The importance of archaeology is found not in its historical attributes, but in the tourist facilities it offers; for example, "in the site [Cobá] is a good hotel and restaurant" (Amador 1990d:21). It is also mentioned that the buildings are "impressive" in Uxmal, and that some, such as Chichén Itzá, have "deserved the installation of an interesting and beautiful light and sound show that takes place daily in English and Spanish" (Amador 1990i:31).

The *Mini Guides* were an essential indicator showing that archaeological sites became an inseparable part of tourism promotion beyond the realm of identity and nationalism. Educational visits to archaeological sites were no longer the main objectives, and archaeological sites were no longer the ultimate destination. As mentioned in Chapter 7, the Ministry of Tourism had already begun to express the intention to commercialise archaeological sites at the end of 1960s (CEDOC/SECTUR 1968). However, the mass production of *Mini Guides*, supported by private enterprise, can be taken as the announcement that Mexican archaeology was being directed towards an era of massive commoditisation. Financial rewards were expected from the promotion of these sites as tourist attractions.

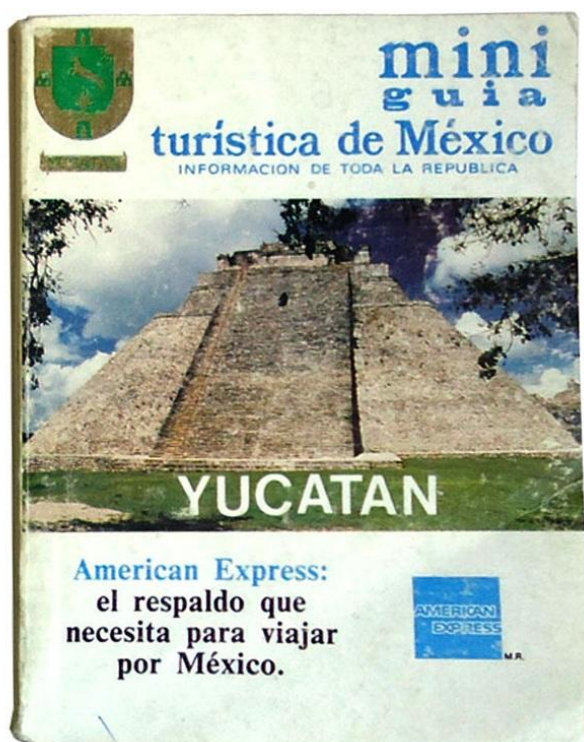
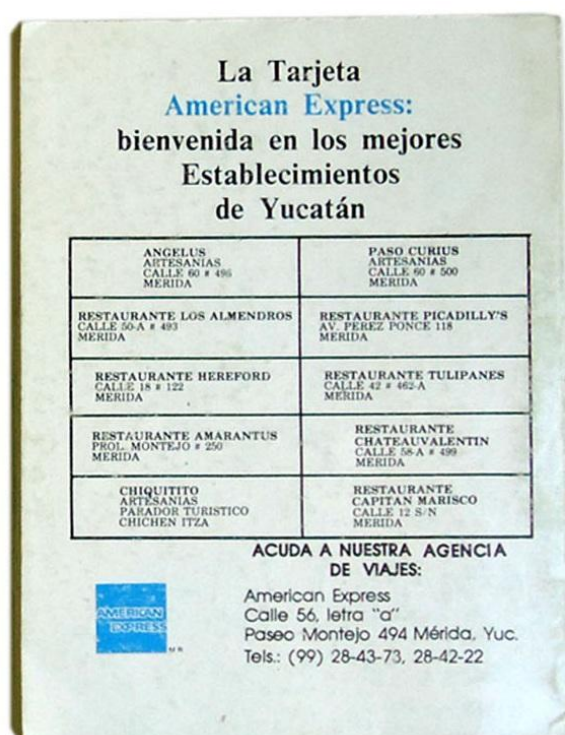


Figure 64. Mini Guide to Yucatan

As mentioned above, the popularity and success of commercial guidebooks must be understood in the Mexican context in the late 1990s. The new neoliberal policies of Mexican President Carlos Salinas and the signing of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) in 1994 set the tone for how the sites would be integrated within a broader cultural market. *Mini Guides* were part of the political propaganda and private enterprise that was launched prior to the celebrations of the 500 year anniversary of the discovery of America in 1992. This also preceded the state appropriation of archaeological resources by means of the fourteen Special Projects related to the Salinas government's neoliberal platform, also launched in the same year of 1992. The new version of archaeological tourism, represented by the *Mini Guides*, led to a unique and astonishing growth in the number of visiting tourists of approximately 300% in 1995 (the *largest* number of tourists ever recorded). In this new era, ongoing national and international marketing campaigns generated the most visitors. Guidebooks show that the oscillation in the number of visitors, especially foreigners, to archaeological sites operates according to the logic of the economic market and political interests. The *Mini Guides* maintained a moderate discourse regarding the commercial use of archaeology; however, it is clear that the promotion of archaeological sites was conducted from an economic platform rather than a nationalistic ideology. In the next section commercial guidebooks aimed at an international audience are analysed, showing an increasingly evident utilisation of the past as an additional attraction in the tourist market.

Archaeology in Commercial Guidebooks for international audiences

Commercial guidebooks provide privileged information. It is changing, immediate, and useful. The choice of a visit to archaeological sites operates under a mechanism of marketing more than on the cultural and *educational* experience (although some represent a combined experience). In commercial guidebooks it is clear that archaeological tourism is a personal journey of discovery, enjoyment, and even exoticism. They are created by professional travellers and are updated with the contributions of individual travellers and service providers. Guidebooks are essentially a compendium of suggestions, recommendations, and warnings. They can be considered indicators of transformations and cultural exchanges occurring at local and global scale. They contain a suggestive collection of pragmatic information that encapsulates cultural behaviours, stereotypes, history, infrastructure,

accommodation, and even bus and train timetables. Because they are produced *by* and *for* travellers, they are written in a direct and simple way, with slang, cultural jokes and plenty of personal opinions. Additionally, they also pretend to be manuals of proper behaviour and understanding of “otherness”. Commercial guidebooks aim to present the information in a holistic manner. They aim to cover many areas of knowledge (scientific and practical) and include sections on climate, geography, economy, population, society and conduct, ecology, history, and archaeology, among many other topics.

In terms of archaeological information, guidebooks to Mexican archaeological sites provide the highlights of cultural history from the Olmecs to the Aztecs. Almost every guidebook contains a summary of the sites in question. It is remarkable that some sites occupy entire pages, while others are hardly mentioned. To analyse how these sites are presented, the sites mentioned in each guidebook are counted, and these counts recorded in a database. In *The Rough Guide to Mexico* 42 sites are included (Fisher 1985), the *Lonely Planet* 60 sites (Noble, et al. 1995 [1982]), the *Blue Guide* 230 sites (Collis and Jones 1997), and in *Footprints' Handbook* 72 sites are discussed (Hutchison 2002 [1990]). Despite the number of archaeological sites mentioned, few sites are given the status of “outstanding” and “must see” destinations (Teotihuacán, Uxmal, Palenque, Monte Albán, Chichén Itzá, Tula, and Mitla being the exceptions). The remaining sites are mentioned as being of interest to the hobbyist, or as an inevitable destination from nearby roads or any other attraction, and generally worth a visit if no better activity is planned (Figure 65).

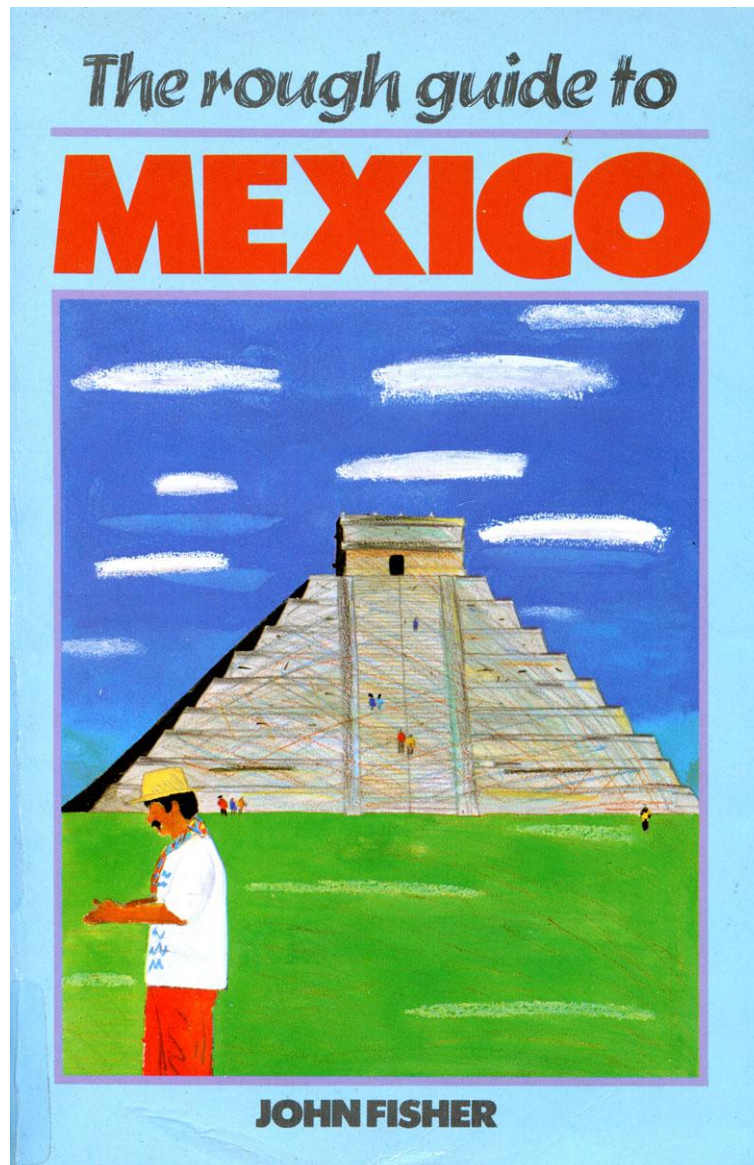


Figure 65. Cover of The Rough Guide to Mexico. The drawing depicts “El Castillo” the main pyramid at Chichén Itzá (Fisher 1985).

Of all the archaeological sites included in these guidebooks, only 36 are present in them all (see Appendix V). Unsurprisingly, these sites are the biggest monumental sites. As a whole, they are sites that receive the most visitors per year. It is remarkable that among them ten sites declared as World Heritage Site can be found (from a total of eleven), and coincidentally most of them were part of the special archaeological projects encouraged by the Salinas government in 1992. These sites are of the highest standard, in terms of facilities present, and are the best equipped: five have a light and sound show, and seven have virtual tours available on the web. It is noteworthy that only two have free entry. The repetition of

these same sites in multiple guidebooks shows how the sites are promoted as and within tourist facilities.

A nice pyramid but expensive beer

Archaeological sites become tourist attractions which are subject to the economic volatility, vagaries of the market, or to tourists' expectations. In Uxmal, a Mayan site at Yucatan, "the Pyramid of the Magician is the most remarkable looking of all Mexican pyramids ... at the entrance of the site there is a small bar that serves sandwiches and drinks as well as guidebooks to the site, souvenirs, films and other essentials for the tourist. There are also three expensive hotels nearby. The lunch at any of them is expensive, but it gives you the opportunity to cool off in the pool. The *Son et Lumiere* at Uxmal is presented every day (except Monday), at 19:00 in Spanish and, 21:00 in English (more expensive), the comments are pretty crude, but the lighting effects are undeniably impressive" (Fisher 1985:328-330).

The pursuit of good services, nice facilities, security, and entertainment is privileged over the historical relevance of the site. At La Quemada, for example, "women are advised to keep at distance from the caretaker" (Hutchison 2002 [1990]:280). Or in Veracruz, "travellers with little time to spare may find the trip to *Tres Zapotes* not worth the effort as there is little to see at the site" (Hutchison 2002 [1990]:367). Whereas the "Archaeological Villas Hotel, located 2 km from the site [of Cobá], is open to non-members, is excellent, clean and quiet, has a pool and good restaurant at reasonable prices, however, beer is expensive" (Hutchison 2002 [1990]:534). The tourist can find accommodation at any of the hotels, virtually in the site [Chichén Itzá], at Archaeological Villas the rooms surround a courtyard where there a pool and cocktail area can be found. It has a library full of books about architecture and archaeology. This library at night becomes a disco. The *Son et Lumiere* at Chichén Itzá is worth to be seen if you decide to stay at any of the three hotels nearby. Although the show is not particularly well presented, there is nothing else to do at night (Fisher 1985:340). It appears that a swimming pool bar or a margarita cocktail are the determining factors for whether an archaeological site is worth visiting, and not the historical significance of what it represents. Commodities, facilities and comfort seem to be by far the more important aspect for decision making.

A nice walk but potentially tiring

According to commercial guidebooks visiting archaeological sites is worthwhile if the site is a "must see" or if it is near to any other major attraction or facilities. However, this does not

guarantee that a site is worth seeing according to Lonely Planet guidebook: “if there is any must see attraction in the vicinity of Mexico City, it is Teotihuacan”. However, “most of the year you should bring a hat and water. You may walk several km and the midday sun can be brutal. Soft drink vendors on the site charge muchos pesos...because of the heat and the 2300-metre altitude, take your time exploring the expansive ruins and climbing the steep pyramids” (Noble, et al. 1995 [1982]:232).

According to the *Blue Guide*, at first sight Teotihuacan is not the most spectacular site in Mexico, as “it lacks the dramatic view of the hills and lush jungle vegetation from sites in the south” (Fisher 1985:212). According to *Lonely Planet*, the visit is pleasant “if you do not let the hawkers get you down, a day here can be an awesome experience” (Noble, et al. 1995 [1982]:232). There are a number of studies which have shown that the interpretation of the guidebooks is not a linear process, and that tourists do not blindly assume all information to be true. However, it is clear that comments such as these *have* a negative influence on tourists’ choice: “The site itself [Tula] opens daily 8am-6pm, only a small part is of interest, though. The city spreads over some considerable area, only small parts have been excavated, and the outlying digs are holes in the ground, meaningful only to the archaeologists who created them” (Fisher 1985:217).

In commercial international guidebooks, it seems to be clear that the visit depends on external variables (terrorism, health crises, availability of rooms, world crises, and even cheap beer) in preference to the actual content of historical archaeological sites. Also, it is clear that archaeology is susceptible to being sold and offered just as any other product of tourism. The emergence of commercial guidebooks has led to the promotion of archaeology beyond the realm of nationalism. Archaeology is an economic resource more than an ideological tool. This is particularly true for sites with potential to be exploited, especially monumental sites and those associated with the Mayan culture.

Conclusions

Guidebooks reflect a particular vision that creates, promotes, and enhances educational and pastime tourism. INAH's *Official Guides* are likely to ignore the context in which archaeological sites are embedded. These guidebooks focus on the cultural history of sites as a means of reinforcing a national identity. It is clear that in the INAH's *Official Guides* people must assume the educational perspective when visiting the sites. Teaching history while visiting seems to be a priority. This discourse relies on the institutionalised conception of identity with the pre-Hispanic past. For their part, commercial guides create images of archaeology as a disposable commodity. A site loses, to a large extent, essential aspects of the social and cultural context beyond the marketing of heritage. In commercial guidebooks, the more enjoyable aspects are highlighted to make a site better for visiting. Packaging, exploitation, and commoditisation of sites must be adapted to meet the needs of tourists.

INAH's guidebooks serve to delimit and strengthen its institutional power over the sites (ideological and actual). The *Official Guides* are limited to look only *within* sites, from the perspective of nationalism, it is to say archaeology to feed identity-making. In essence, the official guidebooks are intimately linked to the national project; the construction of discourse is more related to the construction of the self, of the nation. Guidebooks map Mexican identity as a process of teaching and learning in site visiting. Pre-Hispanic culture has been seen as a unique bulwark; it has been the driving force for enhancing national values. However, this idealism observed in the *Official Guides* is in some respects outdated. It reflects core values of a bygone era that avoids the current context – sociological, economic, and political – in which the sites are embodied. The *Official Guides* represent a *closed* discourse that reproduced INAH's authority beyond the needs of citizens or local communities. Due to their intrinsic academic content, they lose the clarity of the role of archaeological sites beyond the circular discourse of nationalism: site visiting is a way to reinforce a national identity. The *Official Guides* reflect and sustain the idea that archaeological tourism has to be integral part of the nationalistic project.

In commercial guidebooks, archaeology is seen as a product on the market, susceptible to being lavishly packaged in order to generate economic revenues. Commercial guidebooks, even those produced locally, but especially those directed to international audiences, conceptualise travel as part of individual selfishness, where financial resources and time are the most valuable aspects of the trip. They map the “otherness” through

prejudices and stereotypes: Mexicans are *machos*, drunks, and crazy gunmen. From this perspective, visiting archaeological sites is caught between stereotypes and commodities: visiting sites is worthwhile for the proximity of a pool in which to cool off, or for a hotel with good facilities. Commercial guidebooks, however, are more open to change. They reflect a more dynamic aspect of the social environment in which archaeological sites are situated. Due to its personable style, a guidebook meets the needs of a tourist in any particular situation. Archaeological tourism becomes part of the individual tourist experience; therefore commoditisation must be adapted to the tourist's needs.

As seen, Mexico is an exceptional case in which to observe the external use of archaeology, either economic or ideological. The mythical image, pristine, mysterious, of pre-Hispanic heritage has been largely perpetuated in domestic and foreign guidebooks. Sites like Teotihuacan or Chichén Itzá have been present in the modern collective memory for almost 200 years. Contemporary uses of archaeology in guidebooks reflect two positions that seem irreconcilable (as seen in Chapter 7). On the one hand, it is argued that cultural heritage is nationally owned, indefeasible and inalienable. On the other hand, archaeological heritage can be seen as a resource capable of being marketed and managed from an economic perspective (Cottom 2004:93). An important conclusion derived from this analysis is that guidebooks respond to the particular needs of the nationalism and tourism narratives. On the one hand, educational tourism has created an idyllic image of the past, where archaeological sites represent the supreme value in the nationalist consciousness. On the other hand, in the commercial guidebooks, the meaning of history is trivialised, and the facilities and refreshments offered in the vicinity of the site seem to have more relevance than the historical content of the sites.

Chapter 9

Conclusions

In the last three decades archaeology as a discipline has entered into a process of deconstruction. Its traditional remit — surveying, excavating, and publishing — is insufficient to understand archaeology's development and influence in contemporary society. The role of archaeology has never been as dynamic as it is at the dawn of the twenty-first century. It has been suggested that due to the fragmentation of archaeology since the 1980s, archaeologists are facing ethical dilemmas that did not exist for previous generations (Lynott 1997:589). The diversification of new posts and the creation of institutions for the management of archaeological resources are but two of the new issues that have been changing the role of archaeology in society. These changes have occurred through a long process of development. The birth of scientific archaeology alongside the emergence of nation-states meant that archaeological research was often determined by the interests of the State. To a great extent this relationship was centred on identity-making and nation-building. However, after the second half of the twentieth century, archaeology has also been used for other purposes, including the development of archaeological sites as tourist attractions. Currently archaeological heritage is a potent political and cultural resource of utmost significance. Consequently, it is at the centre of a multilayered debate.

Recapitulation

As mentioned in the introduction this thesis has proposed that the analysis of iconography on currency and stamps allows for an exploration of the ways in which banal nationalism reproduces a specific repertoire of images in order to disseminate the ideals of the nation. Additionally, this analytical scheme has driven the understanding of the relationship between archaeology and the state, and later the mutation of nationalistic archaeology into the promotion of tourism.

This thesis has aimed to analyse the changing relationship between archaeology and, on the one hand nationalism and, on the other hand, tourism, exploring how both uses of the past have been inextricably linked especially during the last hundred years. These connections of a scientific discipline with a political ideology and an economic industry have been assessed for the case of Mexico. I have argued that the presentation and commoditization of archaeology is particularly linked to both nation-building and the development of archaeological sites as powerful tourist attractions in post-revolutionary Mexico (1920 onwards). In order to understand the development of this relationship, the post-revolutionary period was examined in depth through the analysis of specific products with a massive national circulation: coins, banknotes, postage stamps, and guidebooks.

In order to achieve the general aim, a series of objectives were proposed. First an analysis of the use of archaeological heritage to promote nationalism was made. Particular emphasis has been paid in the identification of the set of archaeological cultures that have been depicted on monetary products and stamps in order to symbolise the nation. Correspondingly the Golden Age on which Mexican nationalism has based its origins was detected. Regarding tourism, this thesis has sought to recognize the way in which archaeological heritage was commoditized in the context of cultural changes in the 1960s. The relationship between the marketing of archaeology and light shows has been assessed in this light. Tensions between nationalism and tourism have finally been surveyed in an analysis of guidebooks looking at the differences between the promotion of educational tourism and commercial tourism.

In the pursuit of these aims and objectives, the thesis was divided into nine chapters. The first two chapters provided a wider perspective on archaeology, nationalism, and tourism in the case study area of Mexico. In Chapter 3 a basic history of the use of stamps and currency, as well as the methods followed in this work for their study, has been offered. In

chapter 4 the potential of stamps and currency for nationalist display was analysed. This chapter was followed by the analysis of three particular aspects of the case study area: the portrayal of one of the Golden Ages of the Mexican nation, the Mexica period (chapter 5); the use of archaeological images on postage stamps produced during the Olympic Games of 1968 (chapter 6), and the manipulation of the image of the past in light shows (chapter 7). Chapter 8 turned to the analysis of guidebooks. Finally, some conclusions about the manner in which the idea of the past is circulated by both nationalism and tourism in the case of post-revolutionary Mexico were offered (chapter 9).

Archaeology and Nationalism

There are many studies on the relationship between archaeology and nationalism, but this is the first in-depth study on how this connection can also be extended further to include tourism, and how this three-part link has changed through time. As the examples of coins, banknotes, light shows and guidebooks have amply demonstrated, both sites and imagery are not only widely used for nationalist purposes but also for tourism promotion. As explained in the introduction, this is because the agendas of nationalism and tourism complement each other (Kohl 2004:298). Tourism has an inherent ability to promote national identity (Kosher 1998:325). At the same time, imagery depicting archaeological heritage, once used exclusively to strengthen identity and national pride, has fully entered into the realm of the consumption of the past (Rowan and Baram 2004). This became even more visible after the Second World War, when the popularization of mass tourism, along with other innovations, triggered a new set of relationships of consumption. The promotion of tourism has many more different means of advertising than nationalist agendas employ. Nevertheless, postage stamps, and to a lesser degree currency, have not escaped a role in the promotion of tourism. This thesis has demonstrated this through the exploration of these means of advertising the past for both nationalism and tourism in Mexico.

Because nationalist archaeology has been associated with the establishment of an ideology, it is often a selective process which usually focuses on the most classic and sophisticated cultures. In this process, the vision of the past is reduced to a few symbols that are repeatedly used as core elements of a national mythology. These eventually become the prototype of the cultures of the past. This process has created what is known as the *golden age* of the nation, and it is generally the basis of the nationalist pantheon. The analysis

presented here focused on the way in which nationalism in Mexico has used archaeological heritage, and how this process has combined nationalistic archaeology with the development of archaeology for tourist consumption.

In order to contribute to the examination of the history of archaeology from an external perspective, this research on nationalism and tourism in Mexico has analysed the complex mechanisms through which a nation-state uses its power to create and revive certain aspects of history that becomes its own mythology. As mentioned above, a nationalist ideology selectively focuses on particular aspects of history, and avoids conflicting accounts in the face of a wide range of possibilities. Nationalist ideology obscures the origins of the most convenient facts, which eventually become the preferred myths of the nation (Smith 1986:191). However, the manner in which a nationalistic mythology operates on a daily basis has not been assessed in depth. It has been argued that the grand theories of nationalism cannot account for the ordinary processes of reproducing a national ideology. The concept of *banal nationalism* was proposed in order to increase understanding of how ideological mechanisms are activated and used (Billig 1995). The scheme of national and nationalistic, which has been defined as "circumstantial archaeology" by some Mexican archaeologists (Morelos, et al. 1991; Rodríguez 1996), has been adequate to analyse the Mexican case (see chapter 4). In this country there is an intricate apparatus in which both national and nationalistic archaeologies are articulated.

Methodology: Stamps, notes, coins and guidebooks

The methodology used in this research has successfully accounted for the objectives proposed above, namely the analysis of the relationship between archaeology, nationalism, and tourism. As noted in Chapter 3 of this thesis, one of the essential functions of banal nationalism has been to publicise and spread the nation's preferred symbols using coins, banknotes, and stamps. These items have been one important means through which nationalism has been put into circulation. The first step in understanding how this mechanism operates is the classification of the items to be analysed. Items were divided according to three major periods in the History of Mexico (Pre-Hispanic, Colonial, and Independent) to which the images depicted on them belong. This classification made it possible to observe banknotes, coins, and stamps in their historical context. The methodology also allowed patterns of recurrence and the identification of the iconography which has predominantly been used to *invent* the nation's image to be established. As a main result, the main characters and motifs represented for each of the periods in the History of Mexico were identified. More importantly for this research, the pre-Hispanic *Golden Age* culture was identified, as well as the set of archaeological cultures that have been selected to join the past's nationalist pantheon.

Despite their nationalist nature, banknotes, coins, and stamps serve different purposes and therefore are physically distinct. This feature has led to technical limitations of each item for the display of iconography. For example, a banknote represents the most complex visual discourse due to the four surfaces it offers. Coins, having two faces, are meant to display a double discourse, while stamps are the most limited because they have just one face (see Figure 4 in Chapter 3). These different purposes also explain the dissimilar way in which iconography has been used in each of these elements: banknotes and coins contain the more solemn iconography of the nation. In other words, their surfaces are only used to represent illustrious personages and pillars of nation-building. Stamps, on the other hand, represent a more flexible usage. Their consistent annual production allows for the inclusion of a wide range of other images which can be used as commercial or political propaganda, in addition to the same solemn national iconography which is displayed on currency.

As explained in chapters 1 and 2, the analysis of archaeological tourism was another essential aspect on which this research is built. Guidebooks provide an important means to

pursue an understanding of the development of the relationship between tourism and archaeology. In first instance, two types of guidebooks were distinguished. The first was associated with official nationalism, and the second was part of the commercial promotion of tourism. A comparative analysis identified two distinctive types of tourism represented in these publications: institutional or commercial. The comparison of the contents of the guidebooks led to the observation that the promotion of archaeological tourism has been a process of long duration, which over time has been adapted to the needs of the nation and commercial interests. Interestingly, the set of guidebooks analysed here show that rather than an unconnected relationship, nationalism and tourism have combined into an interesting process: nationalist archaeology has mutated into archaeological tourism (as explained below).

Nationalism and Mexican Archaeology

It is widely accepted that Mexican archaeology is one of the most clear-cut cases in the world of the influence of nationalism in archaeology. The importance of the pre-Hispanic past for Mexican nationalism explains that archaeology is directly governed by the state and that its institutionalization and structure has responded to the needs of the State. However, simply categorizing Mexican archaeology as nationalist may have the effect of simplifying the complex ways which this relationship has taken place. In this research, particularly in Chapter 4, it has been argued that changes in nationalism and its relationship with archaeology can be observed in the analysis of the pre-Hispanic iconography used in the currency and on stamps.

This analysis has demonstrated that the changing uses of pre-Hispanic iconography represented in currency and stamps reflected different stages of Mexican nationalism in three historical periods. In the first period, at the beginning of the twentieth century, the iconography included in currency and stamps reflected values of nationalism created in the nineteenth century. An interesting transition is observed in the second period as the discovery and excavation of monumental sites such as Templo Mayor began to provide a set of new objects which were subsequently used as an important means to disseminate ideas of nationalism. This was greatly enriched by the creation of the political platform known as cultural nationalism, a policy that reflected a genuine interest in the past and actually built a complex cultural program, in which archaeological heritage was essential. The pre-Hispanic

iconography used during this time period corresponds to the values of nationalism then in vogue, namely, those based on *indigenismo*. However, the third period was marked by economic crisis which was eventually manifested in a crisis of nationalism. During this time, pre-Hispanic iconography began to be used as a propagandistic tool, usually linked to the Presidents. In this propaganda, the idea of a glorious past — the essentialism of the bygone *golden age* of the nation — was the most important value of archaeology.

On its part, the analysis of coins, banknotes, and stamps in this thesis has allowed the identification of some distinct features that have been widely represented in this nationalistic use of archaeology. Three recurrent themes, associated with the Mexica culture, were identified in chapter 5. These themes correspond with the three types of myths proposed by Smith, the myths of origins, the myth of fall and resurgence and the myth of grandeur (Smith 1986). The first of these was the myth of origins, manifested in the Mexica Myth of Foundation. A second myth is the fall and the resurgence, embodied in the figure of hero-martyr Mexica warrior Cuauhtémoc. The third myth is the myth of grandeur, in this case exemplified by the carved Mexica Stone of the Sun. As a result, nationalistic ideology has mainly exploited the myths and objects associated with the Mexica culture of the Templo Mayor at Mexico City.

These pre-Hispanic myths have been specifically created to support a positive vision of history. In fact, they have been the most persistent elements in Mexican nationalism from the nineteenth century until nearly the beginning of the twenty-first century. The analysis of the Mexica myths used as main element in the iconography of banknotes, coins, and stamps demonstrates that Mexican nationalism has used only limited aspects of archaeological heritage, in which the Mexica culture has been of fundamental value in the creation of a nationalistic image of the country. The monumentality of the Mexica sculpture has been used, then and now, as a metaphor for the monumentality of the nation. The Mexica past then was transformed into the *golden age* of the nation. It is interesting to note that despite the permanence and strength of these three myths, they are potentially changeable due to the contingencies of history. Currently, there are a number of transformations in progress that are proposing a new direction in national politics and the use of the past.

These transformations are clearly observed, for example, in the case of Cuauhtémoc, who has been virtually retired from political propaganda since the mid-1990s. Cuauhtémoc was strongly associated with the power held by post-revolutionary nationalism, being one of

its preferred myths. The current political platform does not entirely accept that perspective, and consequently that use of the past. Interestingly, since the year 2000 new personages from intellectual and artistic areas began to be represented as main motifs in currency: Octavio Paz on coins, and subsequently artists Diego Rivera and Frida Kahlo on banknotes.

In sum, in the first part of this thesis, which is the focus of this section, looked into the study of nationalism and its relationship with archaeology. Particularly, chapters 4 and 5 analyzed the pre-Hispanic iconography depicted on banknotes, coins, and stamps as a way of interpreting the relationship that archaeology has maintained with nationalism. It was noted that nationalism used archaeological heritage as a primary element for strengthening identity and nation-building. Also, it was highlighted that late in the 1960s, an incisive criticism against the nationalistic model resulted in the use of archaeology as political propaganda in the 1970s. It is particularly important to establish that the criticisms against the nationalist model coincide with a change in the tourism policy that has emerged since the 1960s. The relationship between tourism and archaeology was the focus of the second and final part of this dissertation (particularly chapters 6, 7, and 8).

Archaeology and Tourism

The relationship between archaeology and tourism has been explored in chapters 6 through 8. In the last decade (2000-2010) Mexican archaeological sites have been visited by almost 90 million people. This popularity has largely been an achievement of the nationalist policies which have commoditised sites for public visit, mainly since the 1920s. This success is the product of a long process of historical development that has consolidated archaeology as a way of educating the Mexican people. This resulted in the creation of a very particular type of tourism, which in this work I have called *educational tourism*. However, as mentioned in Chapter 8, after the late 1960s Mexico began to participate in a new phase of international tourism. The marketing of archaeology for tourism consumption accelerated as a consequence. Mayan archaeological sites were particularly used at this time to promote leisure tourism, although tourism was not limited to this culture. To understand how this process has developed, I first analysed the release of several postage stamp series which show evidence of the commoditization of archaeology in the context of the organization of a major sporting event organised in Mexico.

Until the 1960s, archaeology had been used in a monopolistic way by the State. However, the Olympics in 1968, and afterwards the inertia in the 1970s, resulted in the *nationalist* (not national, cf. Kohl 1998) archaeology beginning to be absorbed and mixed with the tourism industry. It was mentioned that one major aspect was the change that occurred in the use of pre-Hispanic iconography. As stated in previous chapters, Mexican archaeology had been essentially nationalist (chapters 4 and 5). Consequently, one of its primary functions has been the strengthening of identity. The Olympics was the first time in the history of archaeology during the 20th century in which a large-scale advertising campaign used archaeology for propaganda purposes (beyond nationalism). This change led to the proposition that nationalistic archaeology gradually, almost imperceptibly, entered a process of mass marketing.

The organization of the Olympic Games in 1968 was used as a means to reassess the tourist potential of Mexico. As stressed, the Organization of the Olympic Games has to be understood in the context of major national changes that were reflected in a more active participation of Mexico in the international tourism market since the 1960s. By this time, a new national interest in developing tourism had emerged, especially in the establishment of large tourist resorts. Coupled with this development, the use of the Mayan culture and its spectacular sites contributed to a new form of tourism in the Mexican Caribbean. In this new panorama, although the Mexica (i.e. the Aztecs) continued to be the *Golden Age* culture for the nation as a whole, the Maya were slowly transformed into the golden culture for tourism. Nevertheless, in this research it has been proposed that the Olympics could be taken as the turning point which marks a time of transition in Mexican politics and culture. One of the most important changes perceived was the use of archaeological sites as subjects of commercial exploitation for tourism. Stamps, and some banknotes and coins, but above all guidebooks, allowed tracking this particular transition.

I have proposed that the Olympic series stamps reflect a transition between nationalism and tourism. The beginning of this relationship can be traced in the first issue of the pre-Olympic stamps in 1965, while its epitome occurred in the final series, specifically with the issue of a stamp celebrating the reception of the Olympic Flame at Teotihuacan in 1968. The inclusion of images in the subsequent years has parallels with the ways in which tourist propaganda operates (archaeological heritage as persuasion to buy, to visit, or to acquire and not as a main motif or target). In this series of stamps, along with the general trend triggered by the national policy of tourism, the accelerated process of commoditization

of archaeology for tourist purposes can be seen clearly. The archaeological sites became an important resource to attract tourists.

In this context it should be mentioned that, after the Olympics, The installation of light shows beginning in 1969 marked a new epoch in the commoditization of archaeology. The nationalistic apparatus of archaeology, accustomed to using archaeological sites only to strengthen its ideological function, for the first time viewed the tourist commoditization of archaeology as a threat. However, it has been argued that, despite criticisms, the number of installations of light shows in Mexico is in the increase. Also the relationship between tourism-archaeology was accelerated by the creation of a new tourist centre in the Caribbean area (Cancun, 1972), which also encouraged international promotion of the Mayan zone, especially sites such as Chichén Itzá, Uxmal, and Palenque. In this case, the light shows installed there have been used not only for attracting tourism, but also to justify the management of cultural resources as a State prerogative. Importantly, the maintenance of the Yucatan light shows were aligned with the wider critique of the central nationalist model. The light show at Chichén Itzá, for example, demonstrate the tourist potential of the site as a stage for musical concerts and performances. Chichén Itzá is a paradigmatic case of tourism and commoditization, which with its nomination as a World Heritage Site and also lately as one of the New Seven Wonders of the World, demonstrates that in the era of globalization archaeological sites cannot be exclusively understood within a nationalist context.

As argued in chapter 7 not all light shows can be evaluated in the same way, since their functions and orientations change, throughout time. Importantly, it has been proposed that archaeological heritage is at the centre of a debate in which two general tendencies have claimed the right of managing sites according to their own interests, either nationalism or tourism. It includes those inside the government, private entrepreneurs, or new agers who also claim the right of property or stewardship of archaeological sites, either for ideological use or commercial purposes.

Finally I have proposed that by analyzing guidebooks, it is possible to identify two essential aspects of Mexican archaeological tourism in the twentieth century. A first aspect to be considered is that with the creation of INAH at the end of the 1930s, archaeological tourism was promoted, but quietly, with a strong educational guidance for the domestic public (1930-1970). This type of social tourism has been a key feature of INAH and has been present up to now. On the other hand, since 1970 archaeological tourism began to be offered

as a hobby or leisure activity (1970-2006). This type of tourism, usually associated with other attractions, has been guided by economic potential rather than by the historical and social content of the archaeological sites themselves.

The analysis has led me to suggest that both commercial and official guidebooks reflect the discussion about heritage and its relationship with tourism and development. In chapter 8 this position was conceptualised in two contradictory aspects. On the one hand, it was argued that archaeological heritage is nationally owned, non-transferable and inviolable; on the other hand, archaeological heritage is viewed as a resource capable of being marketed and exploited from an economic perspective. This analysis has demonstrated that guidebooks, both the commercial and institutional, reflect these two positions in the management and presentation of archaeology. The complex problem can be illustrated by the use of archaeology both for educational purpose (mainly for the domestic public) or as pastime or leisure tourism (for international audiences). From this perspective, only some sites, which traditionally have been important for nationalism, have become major centres of tourist attraction. This situation has created a dangerous vacuum between the famous sites, with a greater international presence, and those small sites which together are the majority of archaeological heritage in Mexico.

Future Directions

This research has many applications beyond this case study. It was noted that the most of the iconography on the items analysed relied on the monumental appeal of archaeological sites. The grandiose nature of these sites and the romantic mystery of objects of antiquity has been a key attribute for nationalism, and has also been exploited by the tourism industry. Isolated monuments, such as a single structure, pyramid or object, have been repeatedly used to represent the past as a whole. This past, and its manifestation in those monuments, has played a major role in Mexican nationalism and tourism, both as a way to enhance nation-building and to increase tourism revenues. These monumental features and certain mythological passages or personages create a pretentious image of a powerful past.

The results of the research presented here suggest the need for an investigation of the ideological construction of monumentality on coins, stamps, and banknotes, and how this affects the presentation and understanding of the past. Future developments in this field will require more attention to the actual effects on the monuments that have been depicted on banknotes, coins, and stamps, as well as in guidebooks. The monumentality reproduces a fixed idea of the past as an attractive and homogeneous nation, based on a handful of sites. However, the iconographical absence, either in political or tourism propaganda, of small archaeological sites reinforces the idea that a monument or pyramid is one of the most relevant characteristics of the Mexican past. The political or economic use of monumental sites renders most of the archaeological sites virtually invisible.

The appeal of archaeological tourism as a successful enterprise is imprecise, and creates a distortion of the possibilities of economic exploitation for the rest of the sites. Archaeological tourism in Mexico is certainly massive. However, archaeological sites are not equal, and do not all have the same status. In 2004 the 20 top sites attracted 83% of the total visitors (10,362,100). Fifty-five percent of visitors were concentrated in the top 5 archaeological destinations; whereas the other 45% was split among 167 sites. Therefore, the impact of the activities offered in the top 5 archaeological sites has a disproportionate influence on the public, in many ways creating ambivalences and misunderstandings.

Future research will generate valuable insights into the manner in which the over-exploitation of top sites by nationalism and tourism creates disadvantages — or advantages — for other non-monumental sites. The majority of the 39,342 registered archaeological sites in Mexico do not receive the same level of attention because they are not illuminated by the

aura of nationalism, monumentality and marketing appeal, or political interest that have made the top 20 sites so attractive for nation-building and tourism. It would seem at a first glance that these monumental sites have benefited from this relationship; however, it is not at all clear that these monumental sites are protected, but in fact may be in a more disadvantaged situation due to over-exploitation on the part of tourists, vendors, artisans, stakeholders, landlords, archaeologists, site managers, and the government itself. Their position as the most-visited sites also invokes issues of sustainability, preservation, and conservation. Above all, the ideological erosion of their historical importance through their repetition as symbols, either for nation-building or tourism, must be addressed.

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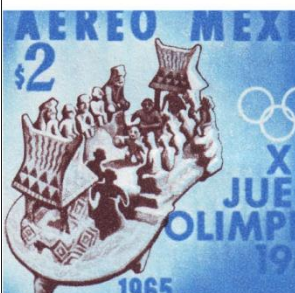
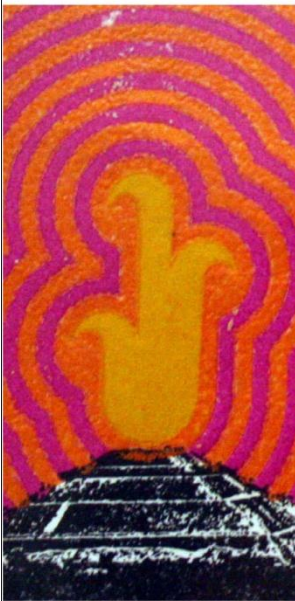
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Appendix

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Appendix I

General Description

This appendix provides additional background information to the analysis presented in the preceding chapters. Descriptive sections have been introduced to provide a context for items analysed. The first section describes coins, the second banknotes, and the third stamps. As supplementary information, a list of the most frequently represented persons on coins and banknotes is provided in section three. Finally, the last part contains comprehensive lists of banknotes, coins, and stamps. Additionally this section provides the listing of archaeological sites open to the public.

Mexican Coins

The social and political history of colonial and independent Mexico has influenced the production of coins. The first coins minted in the New Spain began with the establishment of the first Mint in the Americas (in current Mexico City) in 1535, which produced a wide range of silver and gold coins. Indeed, the Mexican silver Peso, coined in the Mexican Mint, was used as a common currency in Europe, Asia, and North America during the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries (Marichal 2005:18-59). The Spanish Crown centralised and controlled the Mint until the end of the Spanish Colony period (1821). The war of Independence generated economic and social destabilisation which was also reflected in the production of coins. It has been mentioned that, at the beginning of independence, merchants and the wealthy population kept silver and gold metals, and even sent large amounts of these metals out of the country for safekeeping, for example, to Spain. Given that it was impossible for the Spanish Crown to confine the production of coins to the Mexican Mint, other mints for coinage in times of war were opened. Places like Chihuahua, Durango, Guadalajara, Guanajuato, Oaxaca, and Zacatecas, among others, opened their own mint (Díaz and Turrent 2004a:60; Matamala 2005:78). At the early nineteenth century, the diversity of coins was even more complex as the rebels also issued their own coins; during this time royal (the official ones) and insurgent coins (the rebels) were issued in parallel.

Once Independence was established, the coin production was partially controlled by the emergent Independent Mexico. A decree to standardise the production of coins was issued in 1823. However the production was not directly accountable to the Government, as the mines were semi-private or privately owned (García 2005:254; Matamala 2005:124). Nevertheless, in 1895 the Mexican Government acquired the rights to the administration of virtually all the mines in the country. This led to the enactment of a Monetary Reform in 1905 (Schell 1996:68). It was aimed at controlling the centralisation and production of coins, and also to suspend the rights that some mining owners still had over the extraction of metals. The Monetary Reform, coupled with the Post-revolutionary Mexico, and the later creation of the Mexico Bank in 1925, gave to the Government the important task of standardisation, production, and the monopoly over coins (Bátiz 1985:90; Díaz and Turrent 2004a:101). The analysis in this thesis is concerned with coins produced after the Monetary Reform (1905), with a special emphasis on those produced after the creation of the Bank of Mexico (1925) by the Mexican Mint of Mexico City.

Mexican coins of the Mexican Mint (1905-2009)

As explained in Chapter 3, the analysis and classification of the iconography in coins is divided in two sides or faces, obverse and reverse. On the obverse a standardised image is depicted. This varies according to countries, but usually a symbol of the nation or country is represented. This symbol generally lasts for a long period of time with minor variations. On the reverse, in contrast, a greater variability occurs since designs are constantly transformed. In the case under study, the coins bear on the obverse the National Coat of Arms, which is an image of an Eagle standing on a nopal cactus while devouring a snake. As discussed in Chapter 5 of this thesis, this image corresponds to the Myth of Foundation, and with some differences in the design, it has been essentially the same over time. On the contrary, the reverse of the coins includes a wide range of motifs, where outstanding persons in the history of Mexico are depicted, mainly heroes of the War of Independence, the Revolution, the Reform, Modern, and Colonial periods, or archaeological personages and sites.

While classification of the actual coins was carried out, the identification of the type of eagle on the obverse proved to be extremely useful. The representation of the eagle has slightly changed over the last century; therefore, the differences in the image of the eagle and its associated elements allowed for the creation of ten types which grouped 181 coins (see Table 18).

Type	Eagle Characteristic	Total	%	Circulation Years
Type I	Eagle's front view: Porfiriana	29	16	1898-1949
Type II	Eagle's front view: Centennial of Independence	1	1	1910-1914
Type III	Eagle's profile view: 20 Gold Pesos	1	1	1917-1921
Type IV	Eagle's profile view: 2 Silver Pesos	1	1	1921
Type V	Eagle's profile view: Four Prickly Pears' Fruit	8	4	1936-1955
Type VI	Eagle's profile view: Three Nopal-Cactus Leaves	21	12	1950-1971
Type VII	Eagle's profile view: Two Nopal-Cactus Leaves	1	1	1968
Type VIII	Eagle's profile view: Empty Snake	11	6	1970-1985
Type IX	Eagle's profile view: Five Nopal-Cactus Leaves	18	10	1980-1992
Type X	Eagle's profile view: Without dots in framework	90	50	1992- 2009
Total		181	100	1898-2009

Table 18. Types obtained from the analysis of coins

Typology of the Mexican Mint's Coin

Once these types were created a general description was needed to distinguish the coins bearing archaeological iconography that would be analysed in this research. The description of the types presented below refers to the design on the reverse side of the coin. The Mexican currency is PESO, generally expressed as MNX. In order to avoid the repetition of the word Peso, in the description it will be spelled out as P, preceded by the denomination of the coin, for example, 5 Pesos will be "5P". A Peso is divided into 100 cents, therefore these will be denoted by the letter C after the denomination, for example, five cents will be expressed as "5C". A list of coins, including images, is provided on page 334 of this appendix.

Type I. Eagles' Front View: Porfiriana

This type is formed of twenty-nine coins released from 1905 to 1949. The predominant metal coinage was silver (46%), followed by bronze (39%), gold (11%) and nickel (4%). It includes denominations from 1C to 10P. Twelve of these coins have the denomination value as the main design (i.e. 1C, 2C or 2P). Thirteen coins feature the image of the Liberty Cap

(10C, 20C, 50C and 1P). Three coins include a portrait of Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla (1753-1811) (2.5P, 5P and 10P). The only coin bearing pre-Hispanic iconography is a 5C, coin released from 1905 to 1914. The design consists of a stylised image of the outer ring of The Stone of the Sun.

Type II. Eagle's front view: Centennial of Independence

This type includes a 1P coin minted in silver, launched from 1910 to 1914. It was released to commemorate the centenary of the beginning of the War of Independence. The image depicts the Allegory of a rider on horseback riding between solar rays. This coin was popularly known as the little horse or “Caballito”(Bruce 2008:1430).

Type III. Eagle's profile view: 20 Gold Pesos

This is a gold 20P coin, originally minted from 1917 to 1921. This coin is particularly interesting for this study because it presents a complete engraving of the Stone of the Sun.

Type IV. Eagle's profile view: 2 Silver Pesos

This type includes a silver coin of 2P issued in 1921. It was released to commemorate the 100th anniversary of the end of the War of Independence. An allegory of Liberty is depicted on the reverse.

Type V. Eagle's profile view: Four Prickly Pears' Fruit

This type includes eight coins of denominations of 5C to 5P issued from 1936 to 1955. Materials used to mint the coins are as follows: silver (38%), copper-nickel (38%), and bronze (25%). The designs are related to the War of Independence and the pre-Hispanic era. Concerning the Independence, Josefa Ortiz de Domínguez (1768-1829) (5C) and José María Morelos y Pavón (1765-1815) (1P) are depicted. It is relevant to mention that four coins of this type bear archaeological motifs. The Stone of the Sun appears on two coins (5C and 10C). One coin includes an engraving of the Pyramid of the Sun at Teotihuacan (20C), while a further one includes a representation of the effigy of Cuauhtémoc (ca 1500-1525) (5P).

Type VI. Eagle's profile view: Three Nopal-Cactus Leaves

This type includes twenty-one coins minted from 1950 to 1971. Denominations range 1C to 10P. The majority of these coins were minted in silver (59%), followed by bronze (14.5%), copper-nickel (14%), brass (9%), and gold (5%). This type includes effigies of personages of the War of Independence, Reform, Revolution, and Pre-Hispanic era. Among the former, the images of Josefa Ortiz de Domínguez (5C), José María Morelos y Pavón (1P), and Miguel

Hidalgo y Costilla (2.5P, 5P and 10P) can be observed. A coin depicting Benito Juárez (1805-1872) (1P and 5P) was newly introduced. The revolution is represented by Venustiano Carranza (1859-1920) (5p) and Francisco I. Madero (1873-1913) (25C). The pre-Hispanic motifs include the Pyramid of the Sun at Teotihuacan (20C) and the image of Cuauhtémoc (5C). There are also other two coins with figurative motifs such as leaves of wheat (1C) and a locomotive (5P); this last coin, in silver, was issued to commemorate the inauguration of the train of the Southeast.

Type VII. Eagle's profile view: Two Nopal-Cactus Leaves

This type consists of a 25P silver coin released in 1968. It was issued to commemorate the celebration of the XIX Olympic Games in Mexico. The main motif is a stylised image of a player and a Mesoamerican ball court.

Type VIII. Eagle's profile view: Empty Snake

This type includes eleven coins that were minted from 1970 to 1985. Denominations range from 1C to 100P. Most of coins were minted in copper-nickel (55%), silver (18%), brass (18%), and bronze (9%). This collection basically reproduces the motifs of earlier types. Personages of Independence such as Josefa Ortiz de Domínguez (5C), José María Morelos and Pavón (1P), and Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla (10P) are included. Also associated with the Independence was a new addition, Vicente Guerrero (1783-1831) (5P), who had not been represented on coins before or since. Other personages such as Benito Juárez (25P) are included. The Revolution is represented by Francisco I Madero (20C). The pre-Hispanic motifs are the same image of previous issues, such as the Pyramid of the Sun at Teotihuacan (20C) and the effigy of Cuauhtémoc (50C). Two designs related to plants such as wheat (1C) and maize (10C) were included into this collection.

Type IX. Eagle's profile view: Five Nopal-Cactus Leaves

This type is made up of eighteen coins. Denomination ranges from 20C to 5,000P. This collection was released from 1980 to 1992. It is interesting to mention that coins in silver were no longer minted, but only in copper-nickel (50%), stainless steel (22%), aluminium (11%), brass (11%), and bronze (6%). This group changed the designs which had been depicted on previous coins. The historical periods represented are Independence with José María Morelos and Pavón (1P) and Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla (10P), to which Guadalupe Victoria (1786-1843) (20P) is added; Victoria had not been previously included, and has not been depicted again. An image of the Monument to Independence (200P) was also

reproduced. The Reform was symbolised by Benito Juárez (50P). The Revolution was represented by Venustiano Carranza (100P) and Francisco I. Madero (500P), as well as a coin reproducing the image of the Monument to the Revolution (200P) located in Mexico City. The Colony was represented through the release of a coin with the effigy of Sister Juana Inés de la Cruz (1648-1695) (1,000P).

Coins depicting modern Mexico were also released in this collection. Players of football (200P) were included, due to the celebration of the 1986 FIFA World Cup. In another coin the Monument to Oil Expropriation (5,000P) was included. A very small and low quality 5P coins depicts the number five and the symbols for peso. The Pre-Hispanic epoch was represented in a substantial way, including images such as an Olmec Head (20C), the head of the Mayan King Pakal (50C), the Maya Stone Disc of Chinkultic (20P), a head depicting Quetzalcoatl (5P), and a Mexica carved stone known as Coyolxauhqui (50 p) were part of this collection.

Type X. Eagle's profile view: Without dots in framework

This type is the most numerous of the whole collection, as it contains 90 coins issued from 1992 to 2009. In 1992 the Bank of Mexico carried out a monetary reform to eliminate three zeros from the currency (including banknotes and coins). As part of this reform Pesos were named *Nuevos Pesos* (New Pesos). In 1996 the New Pesos returned to being known simply as Pesos (maintaining the reduction of the zeros). In addition to the modification of the *New Pesos*, the style of the coins changed completely through the incorporation of bimetallic coinage (91%), but also some coins were produced in bronze aluminium (4%) and stainless steel (4%). Importantly the design of the whole family of coins was transformed precisely in 1992. Personages either of Independence, Revolution, or pre-Hispanic times were displaced by a novel design based on the reproduction of features from the rings of the Stone of the Sun, including the 5C, 10C, 20C, 50C, 1P, 2P, 5P and 10P coins.

The 5C coin includes the solar rays of the ring of the *Quincuces*. The 10C coin has a stylisation of the Ring of the Sacrifice. The 20C coins bears a stylisation of Acatl, meaning in the indigenous calendar the 13th day. The 50C depicts a stylisation of the Ring of the Acceptance. On the 1P the Shin Ring can be seen. The 2P bears the Ring of the Days. The 5P coin depicts the Ring of the Snakes and the 10P coin has the Centre of the Stone of the Sun. All these coins are circulating money at present. This set is joined by 20P and 50P where personages of Independence such as Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla (20NP) have been

represented. Also the six Heroic Cadets (1828-1847) (50NP) have been represented, as well as the poet and writer Octavio Paz (1914-1998) (20P). The pre-Hispanic features also have been represented by Xiuhtecutli, the Lord of Fire for the Mexica (20P).

In 2005 a new series of 100P coins to commemorate the 32 States of the Republic was launched. It was divided in two series. The first includes 32 coins bearing the Coat of Arms of each State. In the second series, some other cultural or natural features located in each State, whether pre-Hispanic, colonial, historic or modern. Until 2009 some coins with archaeological iconography had been launched, among them Chiapas: Head of Mayan King Pakal (AD 603-683) (100P), Campeche: Mask of Jade (100P), State of Mexico: Pyramid of the Moon (100P), Baja California Sur: Rock Art, Cactus, County Borders (100P); Puebla: Archaeological Iconography, talavera Ceramic (100P); Quintana Roo: Mask and Mayan Temple (100P), Yucatan: Pyramid of El Castillo (100P) and Veracruz: Pyramid of the Niches (100P).

Coins Statistics

The general distribution of items according to the main three periods of the History of Mexico is as follows:

	Obverse	Reverse	Total	%
Pre-Hispanic	181	43	224	61.87
Colonial		10	10	2.76
Independent		93	93	25.69
Allegory		15	15	4.14
No Info		20	20	5.52
Total	181	181	362	100 %

Table 19. Result of analysis of coins according to the main periods of the History of Mexico.

The subdivision of the pre-Hispanic period exhibits a high concentration on the post-classic period:

	Obverse	Reverse	Total	%
Pre-Classic		3	3	1.33
Classic		10	10	4.46
Post-Classic	181	30	211	94.19
Total	181	43	224	100%

Table 20. Subdivisions of the pre-Hispanic period.

It was also possible to make a division by the cultures depicted:

	Obverse	Reverse	Total	%
Mexica	181	27	208	92.85
Baja California		1	1	0.44
Maya		6	6	2.67
Mixtec		1	1	0.44
Olmec		2	2	0.88
Teotihuacan		5	5	2.23
Totonaca		1	1	0.44
Total	181	43	224	100 %

Table 21. Division by archaeological cultures

Mexican Banknotes

The adoption of paper money in Mexico dates to the late nineteenth century when banknotes began to be accepted as a means of payment, although they were produced in limited issues (Lizalde 1999:40). It should be remembered that in those times coins still had intrinsic value for the metal from they were minted (usually gold or silver). However, the banknote began to be accepted because of the advantages of handling large amounts of money on “paper” (it facilitated transportation, for example) (Douglas, Verrey et al. 1982:14; Bátiz 1985:19-22; Lizalde 1999:49; Turrent 1999:16-17). In the nineteenth century, there was a proliferation of banks in different parts of the country which had their own banknotes (National Bank of Mexico, Monetary Commission, Bank of London and Mexico, Bank Of Chihuahua, Mining Bank, to mention just a few examples) (Bátiz 1985:19-22; Douglas, et al. 1982:25-39).

The apparent success of banknotes would be put on hold during the Mexican Revolution (1910-1920) when the official production of banknotes was interrupted. Due to

the need for money, banknotes were produced without value. A high number of banknotes created by revolutionary leaders appeared, but because these banknotes lacked of economic value they were rejected by the population. The revolutionary era has been considered to be one of the most complicated and chaotic periods for the production of banknotes (Díaz 2004:42). Later, at the end of armed revolution, a new era of banknote production began, especially due to the centralising that took place after the creation of the Bank of Mexico in 1925 (Lizalde 1999:92).

After the establishment of the Bank of Mexico, banknotes acquired a new orientation and dynamic. Since its foundation, the Bank of Mexico ordered the manufacturing of banknotes from the ABNC (Díaz and Turrent 2004b:113-150; Douglas 2003:1-64), and from 1968 the Bank of Mexico created its own factory for the production of banknotes (FBBM) (Díaz and Turrent 2004c:151-200; Douglas 2003-137). For this analysis the Bank of Mexico notes have been divided into two periods. The first corresponds to the notes produced by the ABNC (1925-1978), whereas the second to the notes manufactured at the FBBM (1969-2009). The collection analysed is made up of 60 banknotes of official circulation. The classification presented here follows in general terms of the Bank of Mexico; however, some modifications were made especially in regard to notes produced by the ABNC which are classified into a unique family by the Bank of Mexico. Therefore, an original typology was needed to distinguish the differences in a more specified manner. A classification of ten types emerged after analysis of actual 60 notes released from 1925 to 2009:

Note Type	Total	%	Circulation years
Type I. AA-ABNC	7	12	1925-1934
Type II. AA-ABNC	4	7	1936-1942
Type III. AA-ABNC	9	15	1936-1978
Type IV. AA	7	12	1969-1985
Type V. A	6	10	1980-1991
Type VI. B	4	7	1992
Type VII. C	6	10	1992
Type VIII. D	7	12	1994-2005
Type IX. D1	6	10	2000-2005
Type X. F	4	7	2007-2009
Total general	60	100	1925-2009

Table 22. Result of the banknotes classification for this research

Mexican Banknotes of the ABNC

The ABNC manufactured the first three series of banknotes for the Bank of Mexico. In total twenty notes were produced from 1925 to 1978. Regarding to iconography, in the first issue, there are no national motifs reflected in the obverse. The images are dominated by the vignettes Greek Antiquity that was a common pattern in the production of ABNC notes. However on the reverse, a national theme began to be displayed (Lizalde 1999:98). The national sovereignty was represented by the inclusion of the Monument to Independence (Inaugurated in 1910 in Mexico City). In the second series, an intention to introduce images of national characters that featured in the story of Mexico can be seen. For its part, the third series may be considered as the first official chronicle of Mexican history depicted on notes.

Type I. AA-ABNC, First Series (1925-1934)

The first series is today known to collectors by the popular name of "the wide ones" due to their large size (Douglas 2003:2). It is composed of seven notes with a denomination of 5P to 100P. On the obverse classical vignettes vary according to denomination. The first note issued was 5P, featuring a portrait of a young woman, popularly known as The Gypsy (Douglas 2003:2). The 10P note has a representation of two winged nymphs holding the book of the law. The 20P contains a scene of a port, and as a central theme, a ship and a locomotive. The 50P note portrays a symbolic figure of Navigation on its front. The 100P note contains a vignette symbolising maritime commerce. The 500P bears a female figure symbolising electric energy. The On the 1000P note a vignette that symbolises wisdom and eternity is represented. All these notes bear on the reverse a reproduction of the Monument to Independence.

Type II. AA-ABNC, Second Series (1936-1942)

The second series is considered a transition between the large (first series) and the narrow (third series). It comprises only four notes with a denomination of 5P to 100P. The 5P and 10P notes repeated images of the previous ones, both in front and on the reverse. However, the banknotes of 50P and 100P had different characteristics, introducing new persons from political history. In the 50P note, Ignacio Zaragoza (1829-1862) can be observed. On the reverse, there was included an image of the city of Puebla, including the volcanoes Iztaccíhuatl and Popocatepetl. On the 100P note, an image of Francisco I. Madero can be

seen. In the reverse of these notes an image of the Bank of Mexico headquarters can be observed.

Type III. AA-ABNC, Third Series (1936-1978)

This was the last and longest series of banknotes produced by ABNC for the Bank of Mexico. The note with the longest duration was in circulation for 42 years (500P). Although this series was produced until 1978, all these notes were demonetised until 1984. This series is formed of a completely new collection of main motifs, both in the obverse and reverse (with the exception of the banknote of 5P that reproduced “The Gypsy”). It includes nine notes with denominations from 1P to 10,000P.

The 1P note represents a significant change through the introduction of an archaeological emblem. The Stone of the Sun is represented on the front, while the Monument to Independence is on the reverse. The note of 5P reproduces the same images as those in previous series (The Gypsy). The 10P note portrays an image of the woman known as *La Tehuana*. On the reverse side a landscape of the State of Guanajuato in 1928 can be observed.

The main images on the obverse of the four subsequent notes are dedicated to the commemoration of the War of Independence. The 20P note includes a portrait of Josefa Ortiz de Domínguez. On the reverse side is included an image of the Palace of Government of the City of Querétaro. The 50P note features Ignacio Allende (1769-1806). The reverse contained the Monument of Independence. The 100P note is illustrated with Father Miguel Hidalgo and Costilla. The reverse of this note contains the image of the Aztec Foundational Myth of Mexico-Tenochtitlan (1325). The 500P note shows an image of José María Morelos y Pavón. On the reverse of this note an image of the Palace of Mining of Mexico City can be observed.

The following two notes represent the Pre-Hispanic Mexico and the post-revolutionary era respectively. The first is a note of 1000P. On the obverse it bears a reproduction of the bust of Cuauhtémoc. On the reverse of this note, an image of El Castillo of Chichén Itza (AD 400-1200), one of the most widely renowned Mayan archaeological sites, is depicted. The last of this series is a 10,000P note. On the obverse a portrait of Mexican politician and ambassador Matías Romero (1837-1898) can be observed. On the reverse an image of National Palace, located in Mexico City, is portrayed. This image depicts the National Palace within the third floor added between 1926 - 1926.

Mexican Banknotes of the FBBM

Since the 1960s, the idea of the creation of a national factory of banknotes began to be discussed. The plans, including the construction of an actual building and the training of specialists, were carried out over nearly a decade (Díaz and Turrent 2004c:151). These efforts eventually were crowned with the release of the first Mexican banknote produced by the FBBM in 1969. The creation of its own plant represented for the Bank of Mexico some advantages, such as a greater ability to respond to the constant changes caused by inflation, but mainly allowed Mexico to avoid dependence on a foreign supplier for the production of its notes. The national production by the FBBM gave a new personality to the whole collection of banknotes. The designs would radically change when compared to those made by the ABNC in previous decades. Although there is a radical change in terms of design, it is worth mentioning that the main personages, for example, those of the Independence, have been constantly depicted. However, the FBBM notes added characters of the Revolution and also from the Pre-Hispanic era, as well as archaeological objects. Since 1969 Mexican notes have shown a great variability; in fact, each note has become a very complex visual discourse. The FBBM has produced 40 notes from 1969 to 2009. For the purpose of this research they have been divided into seven types.

Type IV. AA, Fourth Series (1969-1985)

This series is made up of seven notes whose denominations ranging from 5P to 1,000P. The first six notes (5P to 500P) present a chronological visual discourse of the more transcendent aspects of the nation's roots, ranging from the planning of the Independence (1810), to the culmination of the Presidency of Francisco I. Madero (1913). On the 5P note, Josefa Ortiz de Domínguez appears on the front, while in the reverse an image of the aqueduct of Querétaro is featured. This landscape is also integrated through some elements of national character, like a maguey (cactus). On both sides of this note, a stylised image of the Aztec Myth of Foundation is also depicted. The following one was a 10P note. The obverse is dedicated to Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla, and also the Bell of Dolores Cathedral appears as a complementary image. On the reverse an image of the Cathedral of Dolores in Guanajuato is displayed. On both side of this note, a stylised image of an Eagle is represented, which makes reference to the Aztec Myth of Foundation. The 20P note is dedicated to José María Morelos y Pavón, as secondary image the facade of the College of San Nicolás was included. The reverse is fully dedicated to Teotihuacan (BC 200- AD700), including a reconstruction of the

Temple of Quetzalcoatl is depicted and a detail of the representation of a face of Quetzalcóatl from the same temple.

The 50P note includes an image of Benito Juárez (1806-1872). On the reverse of this note some archaeological features of Oaxaca's major prehistoric sites such as the facade of the Templo of Mitla (900-1521) and a Zapotec urn can be observed. In the 100P notes a portrait of Venustiano Carranza (1859-1920) can be seen. As a secondary image on the front is a fragment of a mural painting *La Trinchera* (the Trench) by José Clemente Orozco. On the reverse, a representation of Chac-Mool and Zoomorphic friezes of the archaeological site of Tula (600-1521), a site of the State of Hidalgo, are included. On the obverse of the 500P note the image of Francisco I Madero is depicted. On the reverse an image from the Stone of the Sun can be seen as a primary image, while a fragment of the Stone of Tizoc is depicted as a secondary image. Both carved stone monuments are associated with the Mexica culture (1325-1521).

The last note of this collection, 1,000P, changes the visual discourse of this collection. Sister Juana Inés de la Cruz (1648-1695) is represented on the front. On the reverse of this note, the facade of the convent of Santo Domingo and adjacent buildings, located in Mexico City, are the main features in the composition. This is one of the few notes that overtly celebrate the Colonial heritage.

Type V. AA, Fourth Series (1983-1985)

This series is made up of six banknotes with denominations which range from 2,000P, to 100,000P. As stated in Chapter 4, these banknotes correspond to an inflationary time so the motifs and denominations are random. Unlikely the previous one, there is no chronological discourse, and some notes seems to be printed circumstantially for political propaganda (as I discuss in Chapter 4).

The 2,000P note contains an image of Justo Sierra (1848-1912) on the front. The reverse contained an image of the University in the nineteenth century; it was the antecedent of the UNAM. The following is a 5,000P note. The front includes a portrait of the six Heroic Cadets. In the reverse an engraving of the Castle of Chapultepec is included. The 10,000P note presents the portrait of Lázaro Cardenas (1895-1970). Also on the front of this note, an oil rig is placed as additional detail. On the back, diverse pre-Hispanic motif related to the excavations of Templo Mayor are included. Among them stands out the image of Coyolxauhqui, which was the stone that prompted the archaeological rescue which unearthed

the archaeological remains of the *Templo Mayor* (several archaeological projects have been carried out since the discovery in 1978).

A 20,000P note portraying the image of Andrés Quintana Roo (1787-1851) was released afterwards. As a secondary motif in this note, an image of El Castillo at Tulum (1200-1521) is depicted. Currently Tulum is one of the most visited Mayan sites on the peninsula, due to its proximity to Cancun. On the reverse side the lintel of Yaxchilán (250-900) and a fragment of the murals of Bonampak (250-850), both Mayan sites in the Yucatan Peninsula, are depicted.

A 50,000P note shows an image of Cuauhtémoc, in a design based on the bust that had appeared in one of the notes of the ABNC (third series, 1,000P). On the reverse, a ceremonial *bracero*, an archaeological object associated with the Mexica culture and currently located in the MNA is included, as well as a fragment of the painting by Mexican Artist Jorge González Camarena called "The Fusion of Two Cultures" (1963). The last note of this series, 100,000P, bears an image of Plutarco Elías Calles (1877-1945). Also on the front a facade of the Bank of Mexico in Mexico City appears as a secondary image. The reverse depicts one of the images most recurrent in the landscapes of the Sonoran Desert: the image of a deer, some cacti, and the Bay of San Carlos at Guaymas.

Type VI, B, Fifth Series (1992-1992)

This series actually decreases the number of notes. There were no iconographic changes, and the iconography of four notes of the series is repeated (10,000P, 20,000P, 50,000P and 100,000). As mentioned above, in 1992 the Bank of Mexico carried out a monetary reform and took three zeros off. With the reduction of zeros, this family then changed the word *Pesos* for *New Pesos* (NP), thus the new names were 20NP, 50NP, 10NP, and 100NP. The only change to the appearance was in the coloration of the 10NP note. The intense green of the previous note was changed for a lighter green.

Type VII. C, Sixth Series (1992-1992)

This series is made up of six notes that renewed the iconography. It was also released as part of the monetary reform of the three zeros. It includes 10NP, 20NP, 50NP, 100NP, 200NP and 500NP. The 10NP note included a portrait of Emiliano Zapata (1879-1919). As additional image, also on the front, consists of a pair of hands which hold a few ears of corn. The reverse of this note displays the machinery of a barn and a peasant who greets Zapata, who is

riding his horse. The obverse of a 20NP note presents an image of Benito Juárez and a representation of the Aztec Myth of Foundation. On the reverse an image of the Monument to Juárez can be seen. On the 50NP note the portrait of José María Morelos y Pavón is observed. The reverse displays a scene of fishermen in the State of Michoacán. The 100NP note, for the second time in the whole history of notes of the Bank of Mexico, introduces to Nezahualcóyotl being the second pre-Hispanic personage depicted on the front after Cuauhtémoc. On the reverse of this note, an engraving of the Aztec Stone sculpture of Xochipilli and some other objects associated with the Aztec culture can be observed. The 200NP notes depicts Sister Juana Inés de la Cruz, but with a different composition than the previous note depicting her. On the reverse appears the façade of the Temple of San Jerónimo, in Mexico City. The last of this series is a 100NP note. It bears a portrait of Ignacio Zaragoza and a scene of the battle of Puebla. An image of the Cathedral of Puebla is portrayed on the reverse.

Type VIII. D, Seventh Series (1994-2004)

This series made up of seven notes, but no changes in the iconography. The most important feature is the elimination of the word *new*. Thus all notes bear the single word Pesos again. This series includes 10P, 20P, 50 p, 100P, 200P, and 500P. In all these notes, the same iconography as that described in type VII is used again. The only difference is that a 1,000P note was added. The front of this note includes a new engraving of Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla, and the Bell of Dolores, while the reverse side includes an image of the façade of the University of Guanajuato.

Type IX. D1, Family 2001 (2000-2005)

This series was made up of six notes. There was no change in the iconography. The only variation was the definitive withdrawal of the 10P note, which no longer appears after this time. Denominations that remained were 20P, 50 p, 100P, 200P, 500P, and 1,000P, with the same iconography as the previous series (Type VIII).

Type X. F, Family 2006 (2006-up to date)

This is the current series. Until 2009, this family consisted of four notes of the denominations 20P, 50P, 200P, and 1,000P. Although the main iconography on the front has remained, some slight changes in the secondary motifs were noticed. The 20P note bears on the front a portrait of Benito Juárez. In the reverse, a panoramic view of the site of Monte Albán (500AC-600DC) and an ear in gold, a pre-Hispanic object associated with this site, are

depicted. The obverse of the 50P note shows the image of José María Morelos y Pavón, while on the reverse it depicts an image of the aqueduct of the City of Morelia. In the front of the 200P note an image of Sister Juana Inés de la Cruz is depicted, while on the reverse an image of the Hacienda of Panoayan, Mexico State can be observed.

Banknotes Statistics

As mentioned above, notes were divided into four surfaces, two on the obverse and two on the reverse. The general distribution according to the periods of the history of Mexico is as follows:

	Main Obverse	Secondary Obverse	Main Reverse	Secondary Obverse	Total	%
Pre-Hispanic	7	11	15	16	49	21.87
Colonial	5	4	5	1	15	6.25
Independent	38	23	40	7	108	48.21
Allegory	10	1		3	14	6.25
No Info		21		33	54	22.5
Total	60	60	60	60	240	100 %

Table 23. Result of banknotes analysis

Division by pre-Hispanic periods results in the following figures:

	Main Obverse	Secondary Obverse	Main Reverse	Secondary Obverse	Total	%
Pre-Classic						
Classic			4	1	5	10.20
Post-Classic	7	11	11	15	44	89.79
Total	7	11	15	16	49	100 %

Table 24. Division of the Pre-Hispanic period

Division by pre-Hispanic cultures gives the following result:

	Main Obverse	Secondary Obverse	Main Reverse	Secondary Obverse	Total	%
Mexica	7	9	9	10	35	71.42

Maya		2	2	2	6	12.24
Teotihuacan			1	1	2	4.08%
Toltec			1	1	2	4.08
Zapotec-Mixtec			2	2	4	8.16
Total	7	11	15	16	49	100 %

Table 25. Division by pre-Hispanic culture

Stamps of Mexican Post

The Mexican Post Office (SEPOMEX) is a decentralised institution that belongs to the Ministry of Communications and Transport. It is a service and a strategic area to be used exclusively by the State. The stamps are issued, withdrawn, or replaced by means of presidential decree; this makes the issuing of stamps wholly a responsibility of the government (SEPOMEX 1986).

As mentioned in chapter 3, unlike coins and notes, stamps have only one surface; however, they are split into two categories: Definitive and Commemorative. A *Definitive* stamp generally remains on sale for an indefinite period and is issued in a wide range of values. By contrast, a *Commemorative* stamp is issued occasionally or on a yearly basis, to pay homage to some special person, monument, city, place, event, organization, or object. Therefore, a Definitive stamp is printed in large quantities and a commemorative is printed in a more limited way (Sexty 2001:333). It is worth mentioning the significance of the repetition of the symbols through definitive series. Although a high variety of archaeological objects, myths, and heroes are commonly displayed on commemorative series, the definitive ones repeat general themes and remain in circulation for years. Definitive stamps are not time-sensitive (Child 2008:16) and they achieve their function of repeating an iconic message over long periods of time. In this case, from 1922 to 2005, eight *definitive* stamp series (581 stamps) and 977 *commemorative* stamps series (2,090 stamps) have been released, for a total of 2671 stamps issued from 1922 to 2005.

	Series	Stamps	%
Definitive	11	581	21.75
Commemorative	977	2090	78.24
Total	988	2671	100 %

Table 26. Result of Stamps analysed here.

The classification followed the same procedure as that used for coins and banknotes; the general classification follows the three periods of the History of Mexico.

	Definitive		Commemorative		Total	
Pre-Hispanic	111	4.15 %	194	7.22 %	305	11.38 %
Colonial	54	1.98 %	152	5.72	206	7.71 %
Independent	416	15.57 %	1701	63.68 %	2117	79.25 %
No info			43	1.64%	43	1.64
Total	581	21.71 %	2090	78.26 %	2671	100 %

Table 27. Stamps divided according to the History of Mexico.

Summarising this information, stamps with archaeological iconography represent 11.41% of the total, as seen in the table below.

	Main Obverse	Total	%
Pre-Hispanic	305	305	11.41
Colonial	206	206	7.71
Independent	2117	2117	79.25
No Info	43	43	1.60
Total		2671	100 %

Table 28. Stamps according to pre-Hispanic subdivision.

Definitive Stamps Series

Definitive stamps include a total of 581 (21.71%) including eleven series: Illustrious Men (1916-1929), Air Post Stamp (1922), Air Post Stamp (1929-1934), Air Post Stamp (1934-1935), Places and Monuments (1923-1937), Nameless (1934-1947), Architecture and Archaeology (1950-1975), México Exports (1975-1992), Tourist Mexico (1993-2001), México Conserves (2002-2005) and Mexican Folk Hand crafting (2005-) (see Table 29).

Definitive Stamp Title Series	Pre-Hispanic	Colonial	Independent	Total	%
Illustrious Men (1916-1923)			1	1	0.17
Air Post Stamp of 1922 (1922-1932)			6	6	1.03
Air Post Stamp of 1929-1934 (1929-1947)	27		4	31	5.34
Air Post Stamp of 1934-1935 (1934-1947)	18		6	24	4.14
Places and Monuments (1923-1937)	10	15	10	35	5.86
Nameless (1934-1946)	15	3	31	49	8.45
Architecture and Archaeology (1950-1975)	28	20	50	98	16.90
Mexico Exports (1975-1992)			117	117	20.17
Tourist Mexico (1993-2001)	13	16	44	73	12.59
Mexico Conserves (2002-2005)			129	129	22.24
Mexico Folkloric Creation (2005-)			18	18	3.10
Total	111	54	416	581	100.00

Table 29. Stamps definitive Series.

Illustrious Men (1916-1923)

This series consisted of one stamp [SC 647] released in 1923. It depicts Maritime routes out Mexico and a Map of Mexico.

Air Post Stamp of 1922 (1922, 1927, 1928 and 1932)

This series includes six stamps with the image of an eagle flying over an old landscape, where Mexico City currently lies [C1, C2, C3, C4, C47 and C48].

Air Post Stamps of 1929-1934 (1929-1932, 1934, 1935 and 1947)

This series includes 31 stamps. Most depict the Mexica Myth of Foundation and an Airplane [C11 to C25, C38, C39, C46, C49, C50, C62, C63, C64 and C75]. Nevertheless, it also includes other archaeological iconography, such as the representation of Tláloc, God of Water (Quetzalcoatl Temple at Teotihuacan) [C66], a stylised pyramid and pottery [C71], and a representation of a Mexica Warrior Eagle Man [C72].

Air Post Stamp of 1934-1935 (1934-1937 and 1944-1947)

This series includes 24 stamps; some were depicted in the previous series. It incorporates depictions related to the “Air” such as the “Aztec” Bird Man [C70, C137 and C174], Eagle

Man and Airplanes [C139, C176], Eagle Man and Landscape [C132, C177a, C68, C76a, C80 and C81], Mictlantecuhtli, Lord of Mictlán; and the lowest and northern sections of the Aztec underworld [C65, C133 and C170]. Two stamps are repeated from the last series: God Water Tláloc [C134 and C171], and the stylised pyramid and pottery [C138 and C175].

Places and Monuments (1923-1937)

This series is formed of 35 stamps, depicting key monuments that represent the phases of the history Mexico. These include, for example, the Columbus Monument [637], Chapultepec Castle [636], and the Juarez Colonnade [638]. Ten stamps bear archaeological iconography. Among these are the Monument to Cuauhtémoc [639, 641, 645, 655, 690, 727a, 735b and 736] and the Pyramid of the Sun at Teotihuacan [635 and 651], both of which were issued for several years.

Nameless (1934-1947)

This series includes 49 stamps in which some national monuments were depicted. In this series 15 stamps with archaeological information can be found: National Coat of Arms [719, 800 and 850], Mitla Temple of Oaxaca [718, 799 and 849], Cross of Palenque [711, 712, 733, 735, 788 and 844], and Stone of Tizoc [717, 798 and 848].

Architecture and Archaeology (1950-1975)

This series of 98 stamps was issued from 1950 to 1975. It included representations of key monuments of Mexico and also some other interesting attractions. This has been celebrated as one of the most interesting series ever issued. It includes 7 images of archaeological heritage on 28 stamps. They are the Carved Head of Veracruz [863, 881, 949], Colonial Convent and Stone head of Tula [864, 882, 928, 950], Profile of Cuauhtémoc [C190, C210, C220b], Mayan bas-relief mural painting [C193, C212, C220e, C287, C446], Mayan Musicians [C188, C220, C285, C347], Olmec Stone Head [862, 880, 948, 1004], and the Tamuin Adolescent of San Luis Potosi [C192, C211, C220b, C286, C444].

Mexico Exports (1975-1992)

Under this series, one of the longest lasting, 117 stamps were launched. It was dedicated to the promotion of Mexican exports, including a wide range of products from a car to tequila. No archaeological images were depicted.

Tourist México (1993-2001)

This series initially was issued as “commemorative” from 1969 to 1987. It became “definitive” in 1993, lasting until 2001. It includes seventy three stamps. This series includes “must-see” destinations throughout the country, such as Queretaro’s Aqueduct, Guanajuato’s Bell and Street, Coahuila’s Cathedral, Sonora’s Deer Dance, Colima’s Fishes, Sinaloa’s Sunset, Zacatecas’ Colonial Building, Michoacán’s Butterflies, Campeche’s Shrimps, and Valle de Bravo’s reservoir. Archaeological iconography can be seen in 13 stamps, consisting of images of the Observatory of Chichén Itzá, Yucatán [1789, 1803, 1961, 1964, 2121, 2139 and 2141a], and the Temple of Palenque, Chiapas [1795, 1801, 1802, 1974, 2120 and 2123], which are the only two archaeological sites depicted in this series.

Mexico Conserves (2002-2005)

This series includes 129 stamps related to conservation of endemic flora and fauna. No archaeological imagery was depicted.

Mexican Folkloric Creation (2005-up to now)

This series was launched in 2005, with 18 stamps related to folkloric handicrafts. None of them presents archaeological features.

Commemorative Stamps

A total of 2,090 (78.26 %) commemorative stamps were released from 1923 to 2005.

Description of commemorative stamps is more elusive because of the diversity of themes and the high number of series (977 in total). Beginning on page 375 the Appendix IV, offers an exhaustive list of the name of the series, catalogue number, brief description, and some images are provided.

	Pre-Hispanic	Colonial	Independent	No Info	Total	%
Including all 977 series	194	152	1701	43	2090	100

Table 30. Results of commemorative stamp series.

In order to enrich this research, some commemorative series are described below. The decision to provide a brief description of them is based on the criterion that that six or more stamps should contain archaeological iconography. A brief summary of the eight series that meet this criterion will be given below.

	Pre-Hispanic	Colonial	Independent	No Info	Total	%
Series containing from 1 up to 5 stamps (see appendix) (1923-2005)	128	136	1602	43	1909	91.33
Pro-University (1934)	11		6		17	0.81
Postage Stamp's Centenary (1956)	7	1	4		12	0.57
19th Olympic Games México 1968 (1965-1968)	6		34		40	1.91
Tourist Mexico (1969-1987)	7	4	17		28	1.33
Art and Science of Mexico (1971-1988)	11	11	38		60	2.87
Pre-Hispanic Monuments (1980-1981)	9				9	0.43
Pre-Hispanic Personages of Mexico (1980-1987)	9				9	0.43
Mexican Indigenous Codex (1982-1987)	6				6	0.28
Total	194	152	1701	43	2090	100%

Table 31. Commemorative stamps series according to the History of Mexico.

Pro-University (1934)

This series is formed of 17 stamps. There are eleven stamps that are inspired by pre-Hispanic imagery but are not properly archaeological objects [699, 700, 698, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706,]. Two stamps depict archaeological features, the Stone of the Sun [C61] and the Pyramids of Sun and the Moon at Teotihuacan [C55].

Postage Stamp's Centenary (1956)

This series is formed by 12 stamps, of which 7 depict archaeological iconography. Among them there is a stamp with the depiction of Xochicalco's Serpent and Mask [C229]. It includes also stylised versions of Mexica iconography for Movement [891], Bird [892], Flower [893], Corn [894], Deer [895], and Man[896].

19th Olympics Games Mexico 1968 (1965-1968)

This consists of two series, including 40 stamps related to the Olympic games. It is highly interesting that the entire series of 1965 depicts archaeological objects. Three stamps depict clay figurines of Western Mexico [965, 966 and C309] and two depict Mayan culture,

including the Disc of Chinkultic [C310] and a Mayan pre-Hispanic ceramic model [C311]. In the last series of 1968 the Pyramid of the Sun is depicted in a stylised way, commemorating the reception of the Olympic Flame [1001].

Tourist Mexico (1969, 1970, 1973, 1979, 1982, 1983 and 1987)

This series includes a total of 28 stamps in which the most important must-see attractions of Mexico were portrayed, such as Acapulco [C355], the MNA [1009], and Puebla Cathedral [1011], among many others. Seven stamps depict archaeology. In the first series of 1969 can be seen Tajín [1008], the Pyramid of the Moon, Teotihuacan, announcing a Light and Sound show [C354]; and the Observatory of Chichén Itzá [C356]. Other interesting stamps depict Mexcaltitán, a small island of Nayarit. It has been considered to be to the mythical "Aztlan", which was the original place from which the Aztecs began their migration to reach central Mexico [1191]. In the series of 1982 an Olmec Stele of La Venta [1277] and the Five Stores Building at the Maya City of Edzná [1276] were depicted. In the last series the Temple of the Masks in Kohunlich is depicted [1321].

Art and Science of Mexico (1971-1988)

This series includes a total of 60 stamps, and is an account of the most notable aspects of Mexican culture. It contains information about personages or events related to arts, music, and science. Outstanding personages on the history of Mexico were represented, such as Alfonso Reyes [1395], Angel Maria Garibay [1295], and Sister Juana Ines de la Cruz [C381], as well as Colonial buildings like Acolman [C627], Actopan [C628], or Tlayacapan [C629]. Archaeological iconography in this series is represented in 11 stamps from 1971 to 1978 11 stamps were issued with archaeological information: Mayan Warriors from the Dresden Codex [C380], Netzahualcoyotl [C396], the Stone of the Sun [C417], Maya Mural of Bonampak [C439], Aztec Iconography of Medicinal Flowers [C515], The Coatlicue [C527], Totonaca Dancer [C552], Monte Albán Dancer [C551], Culebra Dance [C550], Xochipilli [C549], and Maya Dancer of Jaina [C548]. It is interesting to mention that the release of stamps with archaeological iconography stopped in 1977, although the series continued to be released until 1988.

Pre-Hispanic Monuments (1980-1981)

This series including two series (1980 and 1981) issued to commemorate the findings of the *Templo Mayor* excavations in 1978. It includes 9 stamps that depict archaeological objects, as well as artistic reproductions of them. In the first series a Ceremonial Vessel [1208], Stone

Nail [1209], Chac-Mool [1210], Coyolxauhqui [C626], Tláloc [C625], and Feathered Serpent Head [1194] are depicted. In the second series of 1981 Xiuhtecutli [1248], Alabaster Deer's Head [1249], and Jade Fish [1250] can be found.

Pre-Hispanic Personages of Mexico (1980, 1982 and 1987)

This series bears archaeological information from several Codexes, including 9 images of pre-Hispanic personages. The first series includes Cuauhtémoc [1201], Nezahualcoyotl [1202], and the Mixtec-Zapotec ruler Eight Deer Tiger's Claw [1203]. In the second series, Tarasc ruler Tariacuri [1285], Mexica ruler Acamapichtli [1286], ruler Venado Pechera de Tigre [1287] were depicted. The last series includes Xolotl [1510], Nezahualpilli [1511], and Moctezuma Ilhuicamina [1512].

Mexican Indigenous Codex (1982 and 1987)

This series includes six stamps depicting scenes from the Florentino and Mendocino Codexes. The first three scenes belong to the Florentino Codex, including Astrologer [1290], First Day at School [1291], and Musicians [1292]. The last three scenes are taken from the Mendocino Codex, including Founding of Tenochtitlan by the Aztecs [1520], Pre-Hispanic Wedding Ceremony [1521], and Moctezuma's Council [1522].

Stamps Statistics

Statistics related to both the definitive and commemorative stamps series that depict archaeological objects, sites, or iconography are given below. The majority of the stamps are devoted to the Mexica culture, representing almost half of the sample (49.01%). Mayan related iconography occupies the second place (17.11%). The table below show another dozen cultures that have been use in depictions on stamps (Table 32).

Archaeological cultures depicted on Stamps	Total	%
Colonial and Pre-Hispanic	1	0.33
Colonial-Mesoamerica	1	0.33
Colonial-Mexica	1	0.33
Mexica and Spanish	1	0.33
Toltec-Chichimec	1	0.33
Veracruz	1	0.33
Xochicalco	1	0.33
Western Mexico	2	0.66
Zapotec	2	0.66
Colima	3	0.99
Mixtec	4	1.32
Mixtec-Zapotec	4	1.32
Totonaca	4	1.32
Huastec	5	1.64
Olmec	5	1.64
Toltec	6	1.97
Teotihuacan	15	4.93
No Info	17	5.26
Mesoamerica	30	9.87
Maya	52	17.11
Mexica (Aztec)	149	49.01
Total	305	100.00

Table 32. Stamps by archaeological culture.

Personages Most Frequently Represented

This section provides a brief summary of the most frequently represented personages on banknotes and coins. In the table below these personages are divided into the periods in which they have been portrayed. They have been at the core of nationalistic values and have been depicted as a means of honouring their wisdom, bravery, or heroism. These people have been converted into the source of nationalism, especially those of the Independence period whom are the most overtly, used such as Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla, Jose Maria Morelos y Pavón, or Josefa Ortiz de Dominguez. The list of personages included on stamps includes 479 different characters ranging from popular culture, such as actor Mario Moreno or “Cantinflas”, to the leaders of the Independence such as Hidalgo y Costilla, as well as pre-Hispanic personages such as Cuauhtémoc or Nezahualcóyotl. A comprehensive list of stamp series including main motif, SCOTT catalogue number and in some cases, images, is provided in the Appendix IV.

		Pre-Hispanic Mexico	Colonial Mexico	Independent Mexico
Archaic	BC11,000-2000			
Pre-Classic	BC 2000-250			
Classic	BC 250- AD 900	Pakal (603-683) Nezahualcōyotl (1402-1472) Cauhtémoc (ca 1500-1525)		
Post-Classic	AD 900- 1521			
Spanish Colony	AD 1521-1821		Sister Juana Ines de la Cruz (1648-1695)	
				Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla (1753-1811)
				Jose Maria Morelos Y Pavón (1765-1815)
				Josefa Ortiz de Domínguez (1768-1829)
War of Independence	1810-1821			Ignacio Allende (1769-1811)
				Vicente Guerrero (1783-1831)
				Guadalupe Victoria (1786-1843)
				Andres Quintana Roo (1787-1851)
				Ignacio Zaragoza (1829-1862)
19th Century	1822-1863			Heroic Cadets (1828-1847)
French Intervention	1863-1867			
Reform and Restoration	1867-1876			Benito Juárez (1805-1872)
				Matías Romero (1838-1898)
Porfiriato	1876-1911			Justo Sierra (1848-1812)
				Venustiano Carranza (1859-1920)
Revolution	1910-1917			Emiliano Zapata (1879-1919)
				Francisco I. Madero (1873-1913)
Building the new nation	1909-1934			Plutarco Elías Calles (1877-1945)
				Lázaro Cardenas (1895-1970)
Uprising of Indigenismo	1934-1958			Estela Ruiz, <i>La Tehuana</i> (1912-2004)
Critical Transition	1958-1982			

Neoliberal Mexico	1986-2006	Octavio Paz (1914-1998)
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Table 33. Personages most frequently represented in banknotes and coins.

Pre-Hispanic Mexico

Pakal (AD 603-683) was a ruler of the Mayan site of Palenque in the late Classic period.

Cuauhtémoc (AD 1495-1525) was the last Aztec Emperor, who was taken prisoner in 1521 by the conquistador Hernán Cortes (1485-1547).

Nezahualcōyotl (AD 1402–1472) was the monarch of the Aztec city of Texcoco, currently part of the State of Mexico. He is considered a cult leader with sensitivity for the arts and who wrote poetry.

Colonial Mexico

Sister Juana Inés de la Cruz (1648-1695) was a self-taught writer and a poet. Although she lived at the time of the Spanish colony, she is considered to be the first Mexican writer. The image of this note was taken from the painting entitled Sister Juana by Miguel Cabrera (1750).

Independent Mexico

Father Miguel Hidalgo and Costilla (1753-1811) was a priest and military officer whose importance in the first stage of the Independence has been recognised. He has been immortalised in national history as the initiator of the revolution, and for having delivered the Cry of Dolores (*Grito of Dolores*). Hidalgo and Costilla is known as the father of the fatherland.

José María Morelos y Pavón (1765-1815) was a priest and insurgent leader in the war of independence. He wrote a document entitled “The Sentiments of the Nation” (*Sentimientos de la Nación*), which is considered to be the first official document declaring the independence of Mexico from Spain (1813). Morelos assumed the leadership of the armed movement after the death of Hidalgo y Costilla.

Josefa Ortiz de Domínguez (1768-1829) was an important character in the beginning of the war of independence. Her significant role in the Conspiracy of Querétaro, which was an underground movement which led to Mexican Independence (1810), is widely known.

Ignacio Allende (1769-1811) was a former soldier of the Spanish army who was sympathetic to the independence movement.

Vicente Guerrero (1783-1831) was a leader of the War of Independence who later served as president of Mexico. He is considered to be one of the first Afro-American Indian presidents of Mexico. The state of Guerrero was named after him.

Guadalupe Victoria (1786-1843) fought for the Independence of Mexico. He was officially the first president of the Republic.

Andrés Quintana Roo (1787-1851) was a writer and Mexican politician born in the Yucatan Peninsula. He was one of the most influential personages in the War of Independence. The State of Quintana Roo was named in his honour in 1974.

Ignacio Zaragoza (1829-1862) was one of the most influential military men in the defence against the French invasion (in Puebla) (1862).

Heroic Cadets (1828-1847) were six boys who were killed during the defence of the Castle of Chapultepec, in Mexico City, against the U.S. invasion of 1847.

Benito Juárez (1806-1872), born in Oaxaca, was one of the few Indian presidents in the history of Mexico. He was president for five terms (not continuously, from 1858 to 1872). Juárez is remembered for many merits, among them resisting the French occupation in Mexico and restoring the Republic. Also, from his liberal political perspective, he campaigned for a comprehensive Reform, of which the separation of the State and the Church has been the most celebrated accomplishment.

Matías Romero (1837-1898) was a Mexican politician who served Mexico as ambassador in the United States (1860-1868 and 1882-1898).

Justo Sierra (1848-1912) was a prominent writer, journalist, poet, and political figure of the second half of the nineteenth century. Sierra is considered to have been the educational reformer during the Porfiriato and, indeed, Sierra created the UNAM in 1910. As

a secondary motif in the front of this note, an image of the rectory (built in 1950s) is included.

Venustiano Carranza (1859-1920) was one of the leaders of the revolution and was President of the Republic (1914-1920). Among his most prominent accomplishments is the formulation of the national Constitution (1917), still in force today.

Emiliano Zapata (1879-1919) was a key figure of the Mexican Revolution. He was not an elite, but has been considered a popular leader who commanded rebel forces in the South of the country.

Francisco I. Madero was the first President of Mexico (1911-1913) after the Porfiriato (1870-1910). Madero is considered to be the political emblem of the Mexican Revolution.

Plutarco Elías Calles (1877-1945), born in Guaymas, Sonora, was President of Mexico (1924-1928). Among his achievements, he is credited with the creation of the Bank of Mexico (1925).

Lázaro Cardenas (1895-1970), was president (1934-1940) and promoter of post-revolutionary nationalism. His achievements include the nationalisation of the oil industry (1938).




Estela Ruiz *La Tehuana* (1912-2004) was a winner of a regional costumes contest organised by the Mexican Government in 1936. The prize of the contest was to be the central image for a 10P note (Bátiz 1985:108). She was known as *La Tehuana*, who wears a regional costume of Oaxaca.

Octavio Paz (1914-1998) was Mexican poet, diplomat and winner of the Nobel Prize for Literature (1990). He is one of the most recognised intellectuals in Mexico and is well-known abroad.


Appendix II

List of Coins

Appendix II. List of Coins

MXN	Main Motif Reverse	Issue	End	Catalogue	Period	Metal	Obverse	Reverse
	Type I. Eagle's front view: Porfiriana							
.01	1 Cent	1905	1914	KM 415		Bronze		
.01	1 Cent	1915	1915	KM 416		Bronze		
.01	1 Cent	1915	1949	KM 415.1		Bronze		
.02	2 Cent	1905	1906	KM 419		Bronze		
.02	2 Cent	1915	1915	KM 420		Bronze		
.02	2 Cent	1920	1941	KM 419a		Bronze		
.05	Iconography of Stone of the Sun	1905	1914	KM 421	Pre-Hispanic	Nickel		
.05	5 Cent	1914	1935	KM 422		Bronze		
.10	Liberty Cap	1905	1914	KM 428	Allegory	Silver		





Appendix II. List of Coins

MXN	Main Motif Reverse	Issue	End	Catalogue	Period	Metal	Obverse	Reverse
.10	Liberty Cap	1919	1919	KM 429	Allegory	Silver		
.10	10 cent	1919	1935	KM 430		Bronze		
.10	Liberty Cap	1925	1935	KM 431		Silver		
.10	10 cent	1935	1935	KM 430a		Bronze		
.20	Liberty Cap	1905	1914	KM 435	Allegory	Silver		
.20	Liberty Cap	1919	1919	KM 436	Allegory	Silver		
.20	20 cent	1920	1935	KM 437		Bronze		
.20	20 cent	1935	1935	KM 477a		Bronze		
.20	Liberty Cap	1920	1943	KM 438	Allegory	Silver		
.50	Liberty Cap	1905	1918	KM 445	Allegory	Silver		
.50	Liberty Cap	1918	1919	KM 446	Allegory	Silver		
.50	Liberty Cap	1935	1935	KM 448	Allegory	Silver		
.50	Liberty Cap	1919	1945	KM 447	Allegory	Silver		
1	Liberty Cap	1901	1909	KM 409	Allegory	Silver		

Appendix II. List of Coins

MXN	Main Motif Reverse	Issue	End	Catalogue	Period	Metal	Obverse	Reverse
1	Liberty Cap	1918	1919	KM 454	Independent	Silver		
1	Liberty Cap	1920	1945	KM 455	Allegory	Silver		
10	Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla	1905	1920	KM 473	Independent	Gold		
2	Dos Pesos	1919	1948	KM 461		Gold		
2.5	Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla	1918	1948	KM 463	Independent	Gold		
5	Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla	1905	1920	KM 464	Independent	Gold		
	Type II. Eagle's front view: Centennial of Independence							
1	"Caballito"	1910	1914	KM 453	Allegory	Silver		



Appendix II. List of Coins

MXN	Main Motif Reverse	Issue	End	Catalogue	Period	Metal	Obverse	Reverse
	Type III. Eagle's profile view: 20 Gold Pesos"							
20	Stone of the Sun	1917	1921	KM 478	Pre-Hispanic	Gold		
	Type IV. Eagle's profile view: 2 Silver Pesos							
2	Victoria Alada	1921	1921	KM 462	Allegory	Silver		
	Type V. Eagle's profile view: Four Prickly Pears							




Appendix II. List of Coins

MXN	Main Motif Reverse	Issue	End	Catalogue	Period	Metal	Obverse	Reverse
.05	Iconography of Stone of the Sun	1936	1942	KM 423	Pre-Hispanic	Copper-Nickel		
.05	Josefa Ortiz de Domínguez	1942	1955	KM 424	Independent	Bronze		
.05	Josefa Ortiz de Domínguez	1951	1955	KM 424a	Independent	Copper-Nickel		
.10	Iconography of Stone of the Sun	1936	1946	KM 432	Pre-Hispanic	Copper-Nickel		
.20	Pyramid of the Sun at Teotihuacan	1943	1955	KM 439	Pre-Hispanic	Bronze		
1	José María Morelos y Pavón	1947	1949	KM 456	Independent	Silver		


Appendix II. List of Coins

MXN	Main Motif Reverse	Issue	End	Catalogue	Period	Metal	Obverse	Reverse
1	José María Morelos y Pavón	1950	1950	KM 457	Independent	Silver		
5	Cuauhtémoc	1947	1948	KM 465	Pre-Hispanic	Silver		
	Type VI. Eagle's profile view: Three Nopal-Cactus Leaves							
.01	Ear of Wheat	1950	1969	KM 417		Brass		
.05	Josefa Ortiz de Domínguez	1950	1950	KM 425	Independent	Copper-Nickel		
.05	Josefa Ortiz de Domínguez	1954	1969	KM 426	Independent	Brass		
.10	Benito Juárez	1955	1967	KM 433	Independent	Bronze		





Appendix II. List of Coins

MXN	Main Motif Reverse	Issue	End	Catalogue	Period	Metal	Obverse	Reverse
.20	Pyramid of the Sun at Teotihuacan	1955	1971	KM 440	Pre-Hispanic	Bronze		
.25	Balance of Justice	1950	1953	KM 443	Allegory	Silver		
.25	Francisco I. Madero	1964	1966	KM 444	Independent	Copper-Nickel		
.50	Cuauhtémoc	1950	1951	KM 449	Pre-Hispanic	Silver		
.50	Cuauhtémoc	1955	1959	KM 450	Pre-Hispanic	Bronze		
.50	Cuauhtémoc	1964	1969	KM 451	Pre-Hispanic	Copper-Nickel		
1	Benito Juárez	1957	1957	KM 458	Independent	Silver		

Appendix II. List of Coins

MXN	Main Motif Reverse	Issue	End	Catalogue	Period	Metal	Obverse	Reverse
1	José María Morelos y Pavón	1957	1967	KM 459	Independent	Silver		
10	Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla	1955	1956	KM 474	Independent	Silver		
10	Benito Juárez	1957	1957	KM 475	Independent	Silver		
10	Francisco I. Madero y Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla	1960	1960	KM 476		Silver		
5	Locomotive	1950	1950	KM 466	Independent	Silver		
5	Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla	1951	1954	KM 467	Independent	Silver		
5	Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla	1953	1953	KM 468	Independent	Silver		
5	Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla	1955	1957	KM 469	Independent	Silver		

Appendix II. List of Coins

MXN	Main Motif Reverse	Issue	End	Catalogue	Period	Metal	Obverse	Reverse
5	Benito Juárez	1957	1957	KM 470	Independent	Silver		
5	Venustiano Carranza	1959	1959	KM 471	Independent	Silver		
	Type VII. Eagle's profile view: Two Nopal-Cactus Leaves							
25	Ball court and ball court player	1968	1968	KM 479.1	Pre-Hispanic	Silver		
	Type VIII. Eagle's profile view: Empty Snake							





Appendix II. List of Coins

MXN	Main Motif Reverse	Issue	End	Catalogue	Period	Metal	Obverse	Reverse
.01	Ear of Wheat	1970	1973	KM 418		Brass		
.05	Josefa Ortiz de Domínguez	1970	1976	KM 427	Independent	Brass		
.10	Corncob	1974	1980	KM 431.1		Copper-Nickel		
.20	Pyramid of the Sun at Teotihuacan	1971	1974	KM 441	Pre-Hispanic	Bronze		
.20	Francisco I. Madero	1974	1983	KM 442	Independent	Copper-Nickel		
.50	Cuauhtémoc	1970	1983	KM 452	Pre-Hispanic	Copper-Nickel		

Appendix II. List of Coins

MXN	Main Motif Reverse	Issue	End	Catalogue	Period	Metal	Obverse	Reverse
1	José María Morelos y Pavón	1970	1983	KM 460	Independent	Copper-Nickel		
10	Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla	1974	1985	KM 477.1	Independent	Copper-Nickel		
100	José María Morelos y Pavón	1977	1979	KM 483.1	Independent	Silver		
25	Benito Juárez	1972	1972	KM 480	Independent	Silver		





Appendix II. List of Coins

MXN	Main Motif Reverse	Issue	End	Catalogue	Period	Metal	Obverse	Reverse
5	Vicente Guerrero	1971	1978	KM 472	Independent	Copper-Nickel		
	Type IX. Eagle's profile view: Five Nopal-Cactus Leaves							
.20	Olmec Head	1983	1984	KM 491	Pre-Hispanic	Bronze		
.50	Pakal Head	1983	1983	KM 492	Pre-Hispanic	Stainless Steel		
1	José María Morelos y Pavón	1984	1987	KM 496	Independent	Stainless Steel		

Appendix II. List of Coins

MXN	Main Motif Reverse	Issue	End	Catalogue	Period	Metal	Obverse	Reverse
10	Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla	1985	1990	KM 512	Independent	Stainless Steel		
100	Venustiano Carranza	1984	1992	KM 493	Independent	Aluminium Bronze		
1000	Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz	1988	1992	KM 536	Colonial	Aluminium Bronze		
20	Disco de Chinkultic	1980	1984	KM 486	Pre-Hispanic	Copper-Nickel		

Appendix II. List of Coins

MXN	Main Motif Reverse	Issue	End	Catalogue	Period	Metal	Obverse	Reverse
20	Guadalupe Victoria	1985	1990	KM 508	Independent	Brass		
200	Monument to Heroes of Independence	1985	1985	KM 509	Independent	Copper-Nickel		
200	Football Players	1986	1986	KM 525	Independent	Copper-Nickel		
200	Monument to Revolution	1986	1986	KM 510	Independent	Copper-Nickel		

Appendix II. List of Coins

MXN	Main Motif Reverse	Issue	End	Catalogue	Period	Metal	Obverse	Reverse
5	Quetzalcoatl	1980	1985	KM 485	Pre-Hispanic	Copper-Nickel		
5	\$5	1985	1987	KM 502		Brass		
50	Coyolxauhqui	1982	1984	KM 490	Pre-Hispanic	Copper-Nickel		
50	Benito Juárez	1984	1988	KM 495	Independent	Copper-Nickel		
50	Benito Juárez	1988	1992	KM 495a	Independent	Stainless Steel		
500	Francisco I. Madero	1986	1992	KM 529	Independent	Copper-Nickel		

Appendix II. List of Coins

MXN	Main Motif Reverse	Issue	End	Catalogue	Period	Metal	Obverse	Reverse
5000	Monument to Oil Expropriation	1988	1988	KM 531	Independent	Copper-Nickel		
	Type X. Eagle's profile view: Without dots in framework							
.05	Iconography of Stone of the Sun	1996	2009	KM 546a	Pre-Hispanic	Stainless Steel		
.10	Iconography of Stone of the Sun	1996	2009	KM 547a	Pre-Hispanic	Stainless Steel		
.20	Iconography of Stone of the Sun	1996	2009	KM 548a	Pre-Hispanic	Aluminium Bronze		
.50	Iconography of Stone of the Sun	1996	2009	KM 549a	Pre-Hispanic	Aluminium Bronze		

Appendix II. List of Coins

MXN	Main Motif Reverse	Issue	End	Catalogue	Period	Metal	Obverse	Reverse
1	Iconography of Stone of the Sun	1996	2009	KM 603	Pre-Hispanic	Bi-Metallic		
10	Iconography of Stone of the Sun	1996	2009	KM 616	Pre-Hispanic	Bi-Metallic		
10	Iconography of Stone of the Sun	2000	2001	KM 636	Pre-Hispanic	Bi-Metallic		
100	Aguascalientes Coat of Arms	2005	2009	CV 1000	Independent	Bi-Metallic		
100	Cimarron Deer	2005	2009	CV 1001	Independent	Bi-Metallic		
100	Tlaxcala Coat of Arms	2005	2009	KM 691	Independent	Bi-Metallic		
100	Veracruz Coat of Arms	2005	2009	KM 690	Independent	Bi-Metallic		

Appendix II. List of Coins

MXN	Main Motif Reverse	Issue	End	Catalogue	Period	Metal	Obverse	Reverse
100	Yucatán Coat of Arms	2005	2009	KM 689	Independent	Bi-Metallic		
100	Zacatecas Coat of Arms	2005	2009	KM 688	Independent	Bi-Metallic		
100	Jalisco Coat of Arms	2005	2009	CV 1002	Independent	Bi-Metallic		
100	Michoacán Coat of Arms	2005	2009	CV 1003	Independent	Bi-Metallic		
100	Morelos Coat of Arms	2005	2009	CV 1004	Independent	Bi-Metallic		
100	Nuevo León Coat of Arms	2005	2009	CV 1005	Independent	Bi-Metallic		
100	Oaxaca Coat of Arms	2005	2009	CV 1006	Independent	Bi-Metallic		
100	Puebla Coat of Arms	2005	2009	CV 1007	Independent	Bi-Metallic		
100	Querétaro Coat of Arms	2005	2009	CV 1008	Independent	Bi-Metallic		
100	Quintana Roo Coat of Arms	2005	2009	CV 1009	Independent	Bi-		


Appendix II. List of Coins

MXN	Main Motif Reverse	Issue	End	Catalogue	Period	Metal	Obverse	Reverse
						Metallic		
100	San Luis Potosí Coat of Arms	2005	2009	CV 1010	Independent	Bi-Metallic		
100	Sinaloa Coat of Arms	2005	2009	KM 695	Independent	Bi-Metallic		
100	Sonora Coat of Arms	2005	2009	KM 694	Independent	Bi-Metallic		
100	Tabasco Coat of Arms	2005	2009	KM 693	Independent	Bi-Metallic		
100	Tamaulipas Coat of Arms	2005	2009	KM 692	Independent	Bi-Metallic		
100	Baja California Coat of Arms	2005	2009	CV 1011	Independent	Bi-Metallic		
100	Baja California Sur Coat of Arms	2005	2009	CV 1012	Independent	Bi-Metallic		
100	Campeche Coat of Arms	2005	2009	CV 1013	Independent	Bi-Metallic		
100	Chiapas Coat of Arms	2005	2009	CV 1014	Independent	Bi-Metallic		
100	Chihuahua Coat of Arms	2005	2009	CV 1015	Independent	Bi-		

Appendix II. List of Coins

MXN	Main Motif Reverse	Issue	End	Catalogue	Period	Metal	Obverse	Reverse
						Metallic		
100	Coahuila Coat of Arms	2005	2009	CV 1016	Independent	Bi-Metallic		
100	Colima Coat of Arms	2005	2009	CV 1017	Independent	Bi-Metallic		
100	Cortés Palace and Chinelo Portrait	2005	2009	CV 1018	Colonial	Bi-Metallic		
100	Distrito Federal Coat of Arms	2005	2009	CV 1019	Independent	Bi-Metallic		
100	Durango Coat of Arms	2005	2009	CV 1020	Independent	Bi-Metallic		
100	Engraving of a 100 pesos note 1925	2005	2005	CV 1021	Independent	Bi-Metallic		
100	Engraving of Quijote	2005	2005	CV 1022		Bi-Metallic		
100	Estado de México Coat of Arms	2005	2009	CV 1023	Independent	Bi-Metallic		
100	Guanajuato Coat of Arms	2005	2009	CV 1024	Independent	Bi-Metallic		
100	Guerrero Coat of Arms	2005	2009	CV 1025	Independent	Bi-		

Appendix II. List of Coins

MXN	Main Motif Reverse	Issue	End	Catalogue	Period	Metal	Obverse	Reverse
						Metallic		
100	Hidalgo Coat of Arms	2005	2009	CV 1026	Independent	Bi-Metallic		
100	Liberty Cap	2005	2005	CV 1027	Allegory	Bi-Metallic		
100	Prensa de Volante Antigua	2005	2005	CV 1028	Colonial	Bi-Metallic		
100	St. Antonio Temple.	2005	2009	CV 1029	Independent	Bi-Metallic		
100	Angel of the Liberty	2005	2009	CV 1030	Allegory	Bi-Metallic		
100	Antiguo Edificio del Ayuntamiento	2005	2009	CV 1031	Colonial	Bi-Metallic		
100	Cultural and Natural Attractive	2005	2009	CV 1032	Independent	Bi-Metallic		
100	Head of Mayan King Pakal	2005	2009	CV 1033	Pre-Hispanic	Bi-Metallic		

Appendix II. List of Coins

MXN	Main Motif Reverse	Issue	End	Catalogue	Period	Metal	Obverse	Reverse
100	Hospicio Cabañas	2005	2009	CV 1034	Colonial	Bi-Metallic		
100	Mask of Jade	2005	2009	CV 1035	Pre-Hispanic	Bi-Metallic		
100	Miguel Hidalgo Y Costilla, Pipila, Juárez's Theatr	2005	2009	CV 1036	Independent	Bi-Metallic		
100	Monarch Butterfly	2005	2009	CV 1037	Independent	Bi-Metallic		
100	Nayarit Coat of Arms	2005	2009	CV 1038	Independent	Bi-Metallic		
100	Nevado de Colima and Volcan de Fuego	2005	2009	CV 1039	Independent	Bi-Metallic		
100	Pachuca's Monumental Clock	2005	2009	CV 1040	Independent	Bi-Metallic		
100	Pyramid of the Moon	2005	2009	CV 1041	Pre-Hispanic	Bi-Metallic		

Appendix II. List of Coins

MXN	Main Motif Reverse	Issue	End	Catalogue	Period	Metal	Obverse	Reverse
100	Rock Art, Cactus, County Borders	2005	2009	CV 1042	Pre-Hispanic	Bi-Metallic		
100	Stylized Pine	2005	2009	CV 1043	Independent	Bi-Metallic		
100	Vicente Guerrero, Cultural and Natural Attractive	2005	2009	CV 1044	Independent	Bi-Metallic		
100	Benito Juárez	2006	2006	CV 1045	Independent	Bi-Metallic		
100	Aqueduct and St Rosa de Viterbo	2005	2009	CV 1046	Colonial	Bi-Metallic		
100	Archaeological Iconography, talavera Ceramic	2005	2009	CV 1047	Pre-Hispanic	Bi-Metallic		
100	Bernal Hill	2005	2009	CV 1048	Independent	Bi-Metallic		

Appendix II. List of Coins

MXN	Main Motif Reverse	Issue	End	Catalogue	Period	Metal	Obverse	Reverse
100	Cable Railway, Miners Monument and Cath	2005	2009	CV 1049	Colonial	Bi-Metallic		
100	Caja Real Building	2005	2009	CV 1050	Colonial	Bi-Metallic		
100	Cerro de la Silla and Parque Fundidora	2005	2009	CV 1051	Independent	Bi-Metallic		
100	Colonial Buildings	2005	2009	CV 1052	Colonial	Bi-Metallic		
100	Deer Dance Scene, Tetakawi, Cactus, Sun	2005	2009	CV 1053	Independent	Bi-Metallic		
100	Macedonio Alcalá Theatre	2005	2009	CV 1054	Independent	Bi-Metallic		
100	Mask and Mayan Temple	2005	2009	CV 1055	Pre-Hispanic	Bi-Metallic		
100	Mexcaltitlán Island	2005	2009	CV 1056	Independent	Bi-Metallic		

Appendix II. List of Coins

MXN	Main Motif Reverse	Issue	End	Catalogue	Period	Metal	Obverse	Reverse
100	Olmec Head, Fishermen Monument and Planet	2005	2009	CV 1057		Bi-Metallic		
100	Pitaya	2005	2009	CV 1058	Independent	Bi-Metallic		
100	Pyramid of El Castillo	2005	2009	CV 1059	Pre-Hispanic	Bi-Metallic		
100	Pyramid of the Niches	2005	2009	CV 1060	Pre-Hispanic	Bi-Metallic		
2	Iconography of Stone of the Sun	1996	2009	KM 604	Pre-Hispanic	Bi-Metallic		
20	Octavio Paz	2000	2001	KM 638	Independent	Bi-Metallic		
20	Xiuhtecutili -Fuego Nuevo-	2000	2001	KM 637	Pre-Hispanic	Bi-Metallic		

Appendix II. List of Coins

MXN	Main Motif Reverse	Issue	End	Catalogue	Period	Metal	Obverse	Reverse
5	Iconography of Stone of the Sun	1996	2009	KM 605	Pre-Hispanic	Bi-Metallic		
N\$.05	Iconography of Stone of the Sun	1992	1994	KM 546	Pre-Hispanic	Stainless Steel		
N\$.10	Iconography of Stone of the Sun	1992	1994	KM 547		Stainless Steel		
N\$.20	Iconography of Stone of the Sun	1992	1994	KM 548	Pre-Hispanic	Aluminium Bronze		
N\$.50	Iconography of Stone of the Sun	1992	1994	KM 549	Pre-Hispanic	Aluminium Bronze		
N\$1	Iconography of Stone of the Sun	1992	1994	KM 550	Pre-Hispanic	Bi-Metallic		
N\$10	Iconography of Stone of the Sun	1992	1995	KM 553	Pre-Hispanic	Bi-Metallic		
N\$2	Iconography of Stone of the Sun	1992	1995	KM 551	Pre-Hispanic	Bi-Metallic		


Appendix II. List of Coins

MXN	Main Motif Reverse	Issue	End	Catalogue	Period	Metal	Obverse	Reverse
N\$20	Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla	1993	1995	KM 561	Independent	Bi-Metallic		
N\$5	Iconography of Stone of the Sun	1992	1994	KM 552	Pre-Hispanic	Bi-Metallic		
N\$50	Boy Heroes	1993	1995	KM 571	Independent	Bi-Metallic		

Appendix III

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Appendix III. List of Notes

Pesos	Main Motif Obverse	Secondary Image Obverse	Main Motif Reverse	Secondary Image Reverse	Issue	End	Catalogue	Obverse	Reverse
Type I: AA-ABNC									
First Emission									
5	Gypsy	None	Monument to Heroes of Independence	None	1925	1934	DD 5; B 699		
10	Two Nymphs Holding The Laws' Book	None	Monument to Heroes of Independence	None	1925	1934	DD 10; B 700		
20	Dock Scene, Locomotive and Boat	None	Monument to Heroes of Independence	None	1925	1934	DD 57; B 705		
50	Symbolic Figure of Navigation	None	Monument to Heroes of Independence	None	1925	1934	DD 34; B 702		
100	Allegory of Marine Trade	None	Monument to Heroes of Independence	None	1925	1934	DD 42; B 703		
500	Feminine Allegory of Electric Energy	None	Monument to Heroes of Independence	None	1925	1934	DD 50; B 704		

Appendix III. List of Notes

Pesos	Main Motif Obverse	Secondary Image Obverse	Main Motif Reverse	Secondary Image Reverse	Issue	End	Catalogue	Obverse	Reverse
1000	Allegory of Wisdom and Eternity	None	Monument to Heroes of Independence	None	1925	1934	DD 57; B 705		
<p><i>Type II: AA-ABNC</i></p> <p>Second Emission</p>									
5	Gypsy	None	Monument to Heroes of Independence	None	1936	1936	DD 60; B 705a		
10	Two Nymphs Holding The Laws' Book	None	Monument to Heroes of Independence	None	1936	1936	DD 62; B 706		
50	Ignacio Zaragoza	None	City of Puebla, volcanoes of Popo and Izta	None	1937	1940	DD 64; B 707		
100	Francisco I. Madero	None	Bank of Mexico's building	None	1936	1942	DD 69; B 718b		

Appendix III. List of Notes

Pesos	Main Motif Obverse	Secondary Image Obverse	Main Motif Reverse	Secondary Image Reverse	Issue	End	Catalogue	Obverse	Reverse
<i>Type III: AA-ABNC</i>									
Third Emission									
1 Peso	Stone of the Sun	None	Monument to Heroes of Independence	None	1936	1970	DD 295; B 59		
5	Gypsy	None	Monument to Heroes of Independence	None	1937	1970	DD 318; B 713		
10	Tehuana	None	View of Guanajuato	None	1937	1967	DD 515; B 715		
20	Josefa Ortiz de Domínguez	None	Querétaro County Hall	None	1937	1970	DD 648; B 717a		
50	Ignacio Allende	None	Monument to Heroes of Independence	None	1941	1972	DD 715; B 718		
100	Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla	None	National Coat of Arms	None	1945	1973	DD 753; B 50		





Appendix III. List of Notes

Pesos	Main Motif Obverse	Secondary Image Obverse	Main Motif Reverse	Secondary Image Reverse	Issue	End	Catalogue	Obverse	Reverse
500	José María Morelos y Pavón	None	National Mining Building	None	1936	1978	DD 792; B 708a		
1000	Cauhtémoc	None	El Castillo	None	1936	1977	DD 820; B 708b		
10000	Matías Romero	None	National Palace	None	1943	1978	DD 842; B 722		
<p style="text-align: center;"><i>Type IV: AA</i></p> <p style="text-align: center;">Fourth Emission</p>									
5	Josefa Ortiz de Domínguez	National Coat of arms	Cactus, Aqueduct and View of Queretaro	Coat of arms	1969	1972	DD 903; B 62		
10	Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla	Independence Bell	Dolores Cathedral	Snake	1969	1977	DD 952; B 63		
20	José María Morelos y Pavón	Saint Nicolas College	Temple of Quetzalcóatl	Head of Feathered Serpent	1972	1977	DD 1097; B 64		






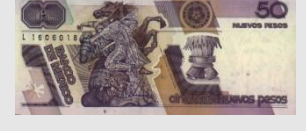


Appendix III. List of Notes

Pesos	Main Motif Obverse	Secondary Image Obverse	Main Motif Reverse	Secondary Image Reverse	Issue	End	Catalogue	Obverse	Reverse
50	Benito Juárez	National Palace	Zapotec Effigy Vessel	Temple of Mitla	1973	1981	DD 1208; B 65		
100	Venustiano Carranza	La Trinchera, Fresco Painting	Chac Mool	Temple of Sun	1974	1982	DD 1218; B 66		
500	Fransico I. Madero	None	Stone of the Sun	Tizoc Stone	1979	1984	DD 1227; B 69		
1000	Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz	None	Plaza de Santo Domingo	None	1978	1985	DD 1234; B 70		
<p style="text-align: center;">Type V: A</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Fourth Emission</p>									
2000	Justo Sierra	Rectoría UNAM	Universidad Siglo XIX	None	1983	1989	DD 1244; B 86		
5000	Boy Heroes	Mexican Flag	Chapultepec Castle	None	1980	1989	DD 1250; B 71		

Appendix III. List of Notes

Pesos	Main Motif Obverse	Secondary Image Obverse	Main Motif Reverse	Secondary Image Reverse	Issue	End	Catalogue	Obverse	Reverse
10000	Lázaro Cárdenas	Oil Refinery	Coyolxauhqui	Templo Mayor	1981	1991	DD126 0; B 89		
20000	Andrés Quintana Roo	El Castillo of Tulum	Lintel of Yaxchilan	Bonampak Mural Painting	1985	1989	DD 1274; B 92		
50000	Cuauhtémoc	Iconography of Cuauhtémoc	Painting "La Fusion de Dos Culturas"	Bracero ceremonial	1986	1990	DD 1279; B 93		
100000	Plutarco Elias Calles	Bank of Mexico	Deer andactus	San Carlos Cove	1988	1991	DD 1286; B 94		

Appendix III. List of Notes

Pesos	Main Motif Obverse	Secondary Image Obverse	Main Motif Reverse	Secondary Image Reverse	Issue	End	Catalogue	Obverse	Reverse
<p align="center"><i>Type VI: B</i></p> <p align="center">Fifth Emission</p>									
10 Nuevos	Lázaro Cárdenas	Oil Refinery	Coyolxauhqui	Templo Mayor	1992	1992	DD 1288; B 95		
20N	Andrés Quintana Roo	El Castillo of Tulum	Lintel of Yaxchilan	Bonampak Mural Painting	1992	1992	DD 1290; B 96		
50N	Cuauhtémoc	Iconography of Cuauhtémoc	Painting "La Fusion de Dos Culturas"	Bracero ceremonial	1992	1992	DD 1292; B 97		
100N	Plutarco Elias Calles	Bank of Mexico	Deer and cactus	San Carlos Cove	1992	1992	DD 1294; B 98		

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Pesos	Main Motif Obverse	Secondary Image Obverse	Main Motif Reverse	Secondary Image Reverse	Issue	End	Catalogue	Obverse	Reverse
<i>Type VII: C</i>									
Sixth Emission									
10N	Emiliano Zapata	Hands with Corn	Zapata mounted on horse. Farmer looking at him	Farmer machinery	1992	1992	DD 1296; B 99		
20N	Benito Juárez	National Coat of Arms	Hemicycle to Juárez	None	1992	1992	DD 1299; B 100		
50N	José María Morelos y Pavón	Coat of Arms SUD	Fishermen scene of Michoacán	Pátzcuaro Lake	1992	1992	DD 1302; B 101		
100N	Nezahualcōyotl	Nezahualcōyotl from Codex	Xochipilli	Xihuacōatl Sculpture Stone	1992	1992	DD 1305; B 102		
200N	Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz	Poet Studio Scene	St Jeronimo Temple	None	1992	1992	DD 1308; B 103		

Appendix III. List of Notes

Pesos	Main Motif Obverse	Secondary Image Obverse	Main Motif Reverse	Secondary Image Reverse	Issue	End	Catalogue	Obverse	Reverse
500N	Ignacio Zaragoza	Scene of Puebla's battle	Puebla Cathedral	Angel	1992	1992	DD 1311; B 104		
<p style="text-align: center;">Type VIII: D</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Seventh Emission</p>									
10	Emiliano Zapata	Hands with Corn	Zapata mounted on horse. Farmer looking at him	Farmer machinery	1994	1996	DD 1314; B 105		
20	Benito Juárez	National Coat of Arms	Hemicycle to Juárez	None	1994	2001	DD 1318; B 106		
50	José María Morelos y Pavón	Coat of Arms SUD	Fishermen scene of Michoacán	Pátzcuaro Lake	1994	2000	DD 1325; B 107		
100	Nezahualcóyotl	Nezahualcóyotl from Codex	Xochipilli	Xihuacatl Sculpture Stone	1994	2000	DD 1331; B 108		

Appendix III. List of Notes

Pesos	Main Motif Obverse	Secondary Image Obverse	Main Motif Reverse	Secondary Image Reverse	Issue	End	Catalogue	Obverse	Reverse
200	Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz	Poet Studio Scene	St Jeronimo Temple	None	1995	2000	DD 1338; B 109		
500	Ignacio Zaragoza	Scene of Puebla's battle	Puebla Cathedral	Angel	1994	2000	DD 1345; B 110		
1000	Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla	Independence Bell	University of Guanajuato	None	2002	2005	CV 2004		
<p><i>Type IX: DI</i></p> <p>Family 2001</p>									
20	Benito Juárez	National Coat of Arms	Hemicycle to Juárez	None	2002	2005	CV 2005		
50	José María Morelos y Pavón	Coat of Arms SUD	Fishermen scene of Michoacán	Pátzcuaro Lake	2000	2005	CV 2002		

Appendix III. List of Notes

Pesos	Main Motif Obverse	Secondary Image Obverse	Main Motif Reverse	Secondary Image Reverse	Issue	End	Catalogue	Obverse	Reverse
100	Nezahualcóyotl	Nezahualcóyotl from Codex	Xochipilli	Xihuacóatl Sculpture Stone	2000	2005	CV 2000		
200	Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz	Poet Studio Scene	St Jeronimo Temple	None	2000	2005	CV 2001		
500	Ignacio Zaragoza	Scene of Puebla's battle	Puebla Cathedral	Angel	2000	2005	CV 2003		
1000	Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla	Independence Bell	University of Guanajuato	None	2004	2005	CV 2006		
<p style="text-align: center;"><i>Type X: F</i></p> <p style="text-align: center;">Family 2006</p>									
20	Benito Juárez	Reforma Act Book	Monte Albán	Gold Jewell	2006	2009	CV 2009		


Appendix III. List of Notes

Pesos	Main Motif Obverse	Secondary Image Obverse	Main Motif Reverse	Secondary Image Reverse	Issue	End	Catalogue	Obverse	Reverse
50	José María Morelos y Pavón	Coat of Arms SUD	Aqueduct of Morelia	None	2006	2009	CV 2007		
200	Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz	Poet Studio Scene	Hacienda de Panoayan	Landscape	2007	2009	CV 2010		
1000	Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla	Independence bell	University of Guanajuato	None	2006	2009	CV 2008		


Appendix IV

List of Stamps



Appendix IV. List of Stamps

Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
1922						
	Air Post Stamp of 1922					
		Eagle flying over Mexico City	C1	Independent	Definitive	
1923						
	Illustrious Men 1916-1923					
		Map of Mexico	647	Independent	Definitive	
	Places and Monuments					
		Chapultepec Castle	652	Colonial	Definitive	
		Chapultepec Castle	643	Colonial	Definitive	
		Chapultepec Castle	636	Colonial	Definitive	
		Columbus Monument	654	Colonial	Definitive	
		Columbus Monument	644	Colonial	Definitive	
		Columbus Monument	637	Colonial	Definitive	
		Communications Building	648	Colonial	Definitive	
		Cuauhtémoc Monument	639	Pre-Hispanic	Definitive	
		Cuauhtémoc Monument	641	Pre-Hispanic	Definitive	
		Cuauhtémoc Monument	655	Pre-Hispanic	Definitive	
		Cuauhtémoc Monument	645	Pre-Hispanic	Definitive	
		El Salto del Agua, Public Fountain	642	Colonial	Definitive	
		El Salto del Agua, Public	650	Colonial	Definitive	

Appendix IV. List of Stamps

Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Fountain				
		El Salto del Agua, Public Fountain	634	Colonial	Definitive	
		Josefa Ortiz de Domínguez	640	Independent	Definitive	
		Josefa Ortiz de Domínguez Monument	656	Independent	Definitive	
		Juárez Colonnade	638	Independent	Definitive	
		Juárez Colonnade	646	Independent	Definitive	
		Palace of Fine Arts	649	Independent	Definitive	
		Pyramid of the Sun at Teotihuacan	635	Pre-Hispanic	Definitive	
1926						
	Places and Monuments					
		Benito Juárez	666	Independent	Definitive	
	Second Pan-American Postal Congress, Mexico 1926					
		Francisco García y Santos	662	Independent	Commemorative	
		Francisco García y Santos	663	Independent	Commemorative	
		Francisco García y Santos	664	Independent	Commemorative	
		Map of Americas	659	Independent	Commemorative	
		Map of Americas	661	Independent	Commemorative	
		Medallion	658	Independent	Commemorative	
		Medallion	660	Independent	Commemorative	
		Post Office, Mexico	665	Independent	Commemorative	
1927						
	Air Post Stamp of 1922					

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Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Eagle flying over Mexico City	C2	Independent	Definitive	
	Places and Monuments					
		Columbus Monument	653	Colonial	Definitive	
		Pyramid of the Sun at Teotihuacan	651	Pre-Hispanic	Definitive	
1928						
	Air Post Stamp of 1922					
		Eagle flying over Mexico City	C4	Independent	Definitive	
		Eagle flying over Mexico City	C3	Independent	Definitive	
1929						
	Air Post Stamp of 1929-1934					
		National Coat of Arms and Airplane	C11	Pre-Hispanic	Definitive	
		National Coat of Arms and Airplane	C12	Pre-Hispanic	Definitive	
		National Coat of Arms and Airplane	C13	Pre-Hispanic	Definitive	
		National Coat of Arms and Airplane	C14	Pre-Hispanic	Definitive	
		National Coat of Arms and Airplane	C15	Pre-Hispanic	Definitive	
		National Coat of Arms and Airplane	C17	Pre-Hispanic	Definitive	
		National Coat of Arms and Airplane	C19	Pre-Hispanic	Definitive	

Appendix IV. List of Stamps

Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		National Coat of Arms and Airplane	C18	Pre-Hispanic	Definitive	
	First Anniversary of the death of Emilio Carranza					
		Emilio Carranza and his Airplane Mexico Excelsior	C5	Independent	Commemorative	
		Emilio Carranza and his Airplane Mexico Excelsior	C6	Independent	Commemorative	
		Emilio Carranza and his Airplane Mexico Excelsior	C7	Independent	Commemorative	
		Emilio Carranza and his Airplane Mexico Excelsior	C8	Independent	Commemorative	
		Emilio Carranza and his Airplane Mexico Excelsior	C9	Independent	Commemorative	
		Emilio Carranza and his Airplane Mexico Excelsior	C10	Independent	Commemorative	
	Aviation Week					
		Plane over Zocalo	C26	Independent	Commemorative	
		Plane over Zocalo	C27	Independent	Commemorative	
1930						
	Air Post Stamp of 1929-1934					
		National Coat of Arms and Airplane	C21	Pre-Hispanic	Definitive	
		National Coat of Arms and Airplane	C22	Pre-Hispanic	Definitive	
		National Coat of Arms and Airplane	C23	Pre-Hispanic	Definitive	
		National Coat of Arms and Airplane	C24	Pre-Hispanic	Definitive	
		National Coat of Arms and Airplane	C25	Pre-Hispanic	Definitive	
	Pan-American Postal Congress					
		Post Office, Mexico	674	Independent	Commemorative	
	First National Congress of Tourism					



Appendix IV. List of Stamps

Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		National Coat of Arms and Airplane	C28	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
	Second Anniversary of the death of Emilio Carranza					
		Emilio Carranza and his Airplane Mexico Excelsior	C31	Independent	Commemorative	
		Emilio Carranza and his Airplane Mexico Excelsior	C29	Independent	Commemorative	
		Emilio Carranza and his Airplane Mexico Excelsior	C32	Independent	Commemorative	
		Emilio Carranza and his Airplane Mexico Excelsior	C33	Independent	Commemorative	
		Emilio Carranza and his Airplane Mexico Excelsior	C30	Independent	Commemorative	
		Emilio Carranza and his Airplane Mexico Excelsior	C34	Independent	Commemorative	
		Emilio Carranza and his Airplane Mexico Excelsior	C35	Independent	Commemorative	
		Emilio Carranza and his Airplane Mexico Excelsior	C36	Independent	Commemorative	
	Second Pan-American Postal Congress, Mexico 1926					
		Francisco García y Santos	671	Independent	Commemorative	
		Francisco García y Santos	672	Independent	Commemorative	
		Francisco García y Santos	673	Independent	Commemorative	
		Map of Americas	668	Independent	Commemorative	
		Map of Americas	670	Independent	Commemorative	
		Medallion	667	Independent	Commemorative	
		Medallion	669	Independent	Commemorative	
1931						
	Air Post Stamp of 1929-1934					
		National Coat of Arms and Airplane	C39	Pre-Hispanic	Definitive	
		National Coat of Arms and Airplane	C38	Pre-Hispanic	Definitive	



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Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
	Fourth Centenary of the Foundation of Puebla					
		Arms of Puebla	675	Colonial	Commemorative	
	Aeronautic Exhibition of the Aero Club					
		Plane Over Flying Field	C37	Independent	Commemorative	
	Second Pan-American Postal Congress, Mexico 1926					
		Francisco García y Santos	679	Independent	Commemorative	
		Francisco García y Santos	680	Independent	Commemorative	
		Francisco García y Santos	681	Independent	Commemorative	
		Map of Americas	676	Independent	Commemorative	
		Map of Americas	678	Independent	Commemorative	
		Medallion	677	Independent	Commemorative	
		Post Office, Mexico	682	Independent	Commemorative	
1932						
	Air Post Stamp of 1922					
		Eagle flying over Mexico City	C48	Independent	Definitive	
		Eagle flying over Mexico City	C47	Independent	Definitive	
	Air Post Stamp of 1929-1934					
		National Coat of Arms and Airplane	C20	Pre-Hispanic	Definitive	
		National Coat of Arms and Airplane	C49	Pre-Hispanic	Definitive	
		National Coat of Arms and Airplane	C46	Pre-Hispanic	Definitive	
		National Coat of Arms and Airplane	C50	Pre-Hispanic	Definitive	
	Fourth Anniversary of the death of Emilio Carranza					
		Emilio Carranza and his Airplane Mexico Excelsior	C40	Independent	Commemorative	
		Emilio Carranza and his Airplane Mexico Excelsior	C41	Independent	Commemorative	
		Emilio Carranza and his Airplane Mexico Excelsior	C42	Independent	Commemorative	




Appendix IV. List of Stamps

Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Emilio Carranza and his Airplane Mexico Excelsior	C43	Independent	Commemorative	
		Emilio Carranza and his Airplane Mexico Excelsior	C44	Independent	Commemorative	
	Aeronautic Exhibition of the Aero Club					
		Flight Over Field	C45	Independent	Commemorative	
1933						
	21st International Congress of Statistics					
		Palace of Fine Arts	C51	Independent	Commemorative	
		Palace of Fine Arts	C52	Independent	Commemorative	
		Palace of Fine Arts	C53	Independent	Commemorative	
	Places and Monuments					
		Bartolomé de las Casas in Pre-Hispanic Temple	683	Colonial	Definitive	
	First Centenary of the Mexican Society of Geography and Statistics					
		Emblem of Mexican Society of Geography and National Coat of Arms	684	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
		Emblem of Mexican Society of Geography and National Coat of Arms	685	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
		Emblem of Mexican Society of	686	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	


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Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Geography and National Coat of Arms				
		Emblem of Mexican Society of Geography and National Coat of Arms	687	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
1934						
	Air Post Stamp of 1929-1934					
		Eagle Man and Airplanes	C72	Pre-Hispanic	Definitive	
		National Coat of Arms and Airplane	C62	Pre-Hispanic	Definitive	
		National Coat of Arms and Airplane	C63	Pre-Hispanic	Definitive	
		National Coat of Arms and Airplane	C16	Pre-Hispanic	Definitive	
		Natives Looking at Airplane and Orizaba	C73	Independent	Definitive	
		Orizaba Volcano	C67	Independent	Definitive	
		Stylised Pyramid and Uruapan Pottery	C71	Pre-Hispanic	Definitive	
		Symbolical of Flight	C69	Independent	Definitive	

Appendix IV. List of Stamps

Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Tláloc	C66	Pre-Hispanic	Definitive	
	Air Post Stamp of 1934-1935					
		Eagle Man and Landscape	C68	Pre-Hispanic	Definitive	
		Mictlantecuhltli	C65	Pre-Hispanic	Definitive	
	Express Delivery Type					
		Messenger and Pyramid at Teotihuacan	E3	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
	Places and Monuments					
		Columbus Monument	689	Colonial	Definitive	
		Cauhtémoc Monument	736	Pre-Hispanic	Definitive	
		Cauhtémoc Monument	690	Pre-Hispanic	Definitive	
		El Salto del Agua, Public Fountain	735a	Colonial	Definitive	
		El Salto del Agua, Public Fountain	688	Colonial	Definitive	
		José María Morelos y Pavón	687a	Independent	Definitive	
		Josefa Ortíz de Domínguez Monument	691	Independent	Definitive	



Appendix IV. List of Stamps

Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Juárez Colonnade	692	Independent	Definitive	
		Juárez Colonnade	657	Independent	Definitive	
	Pro-University					
		Bridge of Tepecayo	C58	Independent	Commemorative	
		Chapultepec Fortress	C59	Independent	Commemorative	
		Craftsman	704	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
		Indian Archer	698	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
		Indian with Headdress	699	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
		Nevado de Toluca	C54	Independent	Commemorative	
		Offering to the Gods	705	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
		Orizaba Volcano	C60	Independent	Commemorative	
		Peon	701	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
		Potter	702	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
		Pyramids of the Sun and Moon, Teotihuacan	C55	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
		Sculptor	703	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
		Stone of the Sun and Mexican Girl	C61	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
		View of Ajusco	C56	Independent	Commemorative	
		Volcanoes of Popocatepetl and Iztaccihuatl	C57	Independent	Commemorative	
		Woman decorating pottery	700	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	

Appendix IV. List of Stamps

Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Worshiper	706	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
	Nameless 1934-1946					
		Arch of the Revolution	709	Independent	Definitive	
		Charro	720	Independent	Definitive	
		Cross of Palenque	711	Pre-Hispanic	Definitive	
		Independence Monument	713	Independent	Definitive	
		Independence Monument, Puebla	714	Independent	Definitive	
		Monument to the Heroic Cadets	716	Independent	Definitive	
		National Coat of Arms	719	Pre-Hispanic	Definitive	
		Ruins of Mitla	718	Pre-Hispanic	Definitive	

Appendix IV. List of Stamps

Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Stone of Tizoc	717	Pre-Hispanic	Definitive	
		Tehuana Indian	708	Independent	Definitive	
		Tower of Los Remedios	710	Colonial	Definitive	
		Yalalteca Indian	707	Independent	Definitive	
1935						
	25th Anniversary of the Plan de San Luis					
		Francisco I. Madero	C76	Independent	Commemorative	
	Air Post Stamp of 1929-1934					
		National Coat of Arms and Airplane	C75	Pre-Hispanic	Definitive	
		National Coat of Arms and Airplane	C64	Pre-Hispanic	Definitive	
	Air Post Stamp of 1934-1935					
		Aztec Bird Man	C70	Pre-Hispanic	Definitive	
	Amelia Earhart's Flight of Goodwill					
		Eagle Man and Landscape	C74	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
	Statistical Department, Industrial and Ejidal censuses					
		Tractor	721	Independent	Commemorative	

Appendix IV. List of Stamps

Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
	Federalization of Chiapas to Mexico					
		Arms of Chiapas	722	Independent	Commemorative	
	Plan de Ayala, 20th November 1911					
		Emiliano Zapata	723	Independent	Commemorative	
	Nameless 1934-1946					
		Cross of Palenque	712	Pre-Hispanic	Definitive	
		Independence Monument, Puebla	715	Independent	Definitive	
1936						
	Air Post Stamp of 1934-1935					
		Eagle Man and Landscape	C80	Pre-Hispanic	Definitive	
		Eagle Man and Landscape	C76a	Pre-Hispanic	Definitive	
		Francisco I. Madero	C76b	Independent	Definitive	
	Mexico-Laredo Highway					
		Bridge on Nuevo Laredo Highway	C79	Independent	Commemorative	
		Corona River	C78	Independent	Commemorative	
		Matalote Bridge	726	Independent	Commemorative	
		Nuevo Laredo Highway	725	Independent	Commemorative	
		Nuevo Laredo Highway	727	Independent	Commemorative	
		Tasquillo Bridge	C77	Independent	Commemorative	
	Places and Monuments					
		Cuauhtémoc Monument	727a	Pre-Hispanic	Definitive	
	First National Congress of Hygiene and Occupational Health					
		Cross of Palenque	728	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
1937						
	Air Post Stamp of 1934-1935					
		Eagle Man and Landscape	C81	Pre-Hispanic	Definitive	
	Federalization of Chiapas to Mexico					

Appendix IV. List of Stamps

Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Arms of Chiapas	734	Independent	Commemorative	
	Places and Monuments					
		Cuauhtémoc Monument	735b	Pre-Hispanic	Definitive	
	Nameless 1934-1946					
		Arch of the Revolution	731	Independent	Definitive	
		Arch of the Revolution	732	Independent	Definitive	
		Cross of Palenque	735	Pre-Hispanic	Definitive	
		Cross of Palenque	733	Pre-Hispanic	Definitive	
		Tehuana Indian	730	Independent	Definitive	
		Tower of Los Remedios	733b	Colonial	Definitive	
		Yalalteca Indian	729	Independent	Definitive	
1938						
	25th Anniversary of the Plan de Guadalupe, March 26th, 1913					
		Blacksmith	737	Independent	Commemorative	
		Cavalryman	C82	Independent	Commemorative	
		Early Biplane over Mountains	C83	Independent	Commemorative	
		Revolutionary Soldier	738	Independent	Commemorative	
		Venustiano Carranza	C84	Independent	Commemorative	
	Plan de Guadalupe, March 1913					
		Revolutionary Envoy	739	Independent	Commemorative	
	XVI International Congress of Planning and Housing					
		Arch of the Revolution	741	Independent	Commemorative	
		Arch of the Revolution	740	Independent	Commemorative	
		Independence Monument	745	Independent	Commemorative	
		Independence Monument	744	Independent	Commemorative	
		Palace of Fine Arts	743	Independent	Commemorative	
		Palace of Fine Arts	742	Independent	Commemorative	
		The Zocalo and Cathedral of Mexico City	C85	Colonial	Commemorative	



Appendix IV. List of Stamps

Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
1939						
	Censuses 1939-1940					
		Allegory of Agriculture	752	Independent	Commemorative	
		Finger Counting at Factory	C101	Independent	Commemorative	
		Seven Censuses	C102	Independent	Commemorative	
		Transportation	C100	Independent	Commemorative	
		Two Hands Holding Symbols of Commerce	753	Independent	Commemorative	
		View of Taxco	751	Independent	Commemorative	
	World Convention of Philatelists, Tulsa					
		Indian	747	Independent	Commemorative	
		Statue of Pioneer Woman, Ponca City, OK	C94	Independent	Commemorative	
		Statue of Pioneer Woman, Ponca City, OK	C95	Independent	Commemorative	
		Statue of Pioneer Woman, Ponca City, OK	C96	Independent	Commemorative	
	World Fair of New York					
		Arch of the Revolution	746	Independent	Commemorative	
		Statue of José María Morelos y Pavón	C93a	Independent	Commemorative	
		Statue of José María Morelos y Pavón	C91	Independent	Commemorative	
		Statue of José María Morelos y Pavón	C92	Independent	Commemorative	

Appendix IV. List of Stamps

Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Pavón				
		Statue of José María Morelos y Pavón	C93	Independent	Commemorative	
	IV Centenary of the Printing Press in Mexico					
		First Engraving Made in Mexico	C97	Colonial	Commemorative	
		First Work of Legislation Printed in America	C98	Colonial	Commemorative	
		First Work of Legislation Printed in America	C99	Colonial	Commemorative	
	IV Centenary of the Printing Press in Mexico , First in America					
		Antonio de Mendoza	750	Colonial	Commemorative	
		First Printing Shop in Mexico	749	Colonial	Commemorative	
		Juan de Zumárraga	748	Colonial	Commemorative	
	XVI International Congress of Planning and Housing					
		Chichén Itzá	C88	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	


Appendix IV. List of Stamps

Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Chichén Itzá	C87	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
		The Zocalo and Cathedral of Mexico City	C86	Colonial	Commemorative	
		View of Acapulco	C90	Independent	Commemorative	
		View of Acapulco	C89	Independent	Commemorative	
1940						
	Centenary of the First Postage Stamp Worldwide					
		Penny Black of 1840	C103	Independent	Commemorative	
		Penny Black of 1840	754	Independent	Commemorative	
		Penny Black of 1840	C104	Independent	Commemorative	
		Penny Black of 1840	755	Independent	Commemorative	
		Penny Black of 1840	C105	Independent	Commemorative	
		Penny Black of 1840	756	Independent	Commemorative	
		Penny Black of 1840	C106	Independent	Commemorative	




Appendix IV. List of Stamps

Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Penny Black of 1840	757	Independent	Commemorative	
		Penny Black of 1840	C107	Independent	Commemorative	
		Penny Black of 1840	758	Independent	Commemorative	
	Inauguration of the Highway Mexico-Guadalajara					
		Roadside Monument	759	Independent	Commemorative	
	Inauguration of the Presidency of Manuel Ávila Camacho					
		Man at Helm	764	Independent	Commemorative	
		Man at Helm	765	Independent	Commemorative	
		Man at Helm	766	Independent	Commemorative	
		Man at Helm	C114	Independent	Commemorative	
		Man at Helm	C115	Independent	Commemorative	
		Man at Helm	C116	Independent	Commemorative	
	IV Centenary of the Foundation of Campeche					
		Campeche Coat of Arms	763	Colonial	Commemorative	
		Castle of San Miguel	C112	Colonial	Commemorative	
		Pirate Ship	C111	Colonial	Commemorative	
		Temple of San Francisco	C113	Colonial	Commemorative	
	IV Centenary of the Primitive and National St Nicolas Hidalgo College					
		College at Morelia	C109	Colonial	Commemorative	
		College at Morelia	C110	Independent	Commemorative	
		College Seal	762	Colonial	Commemorative	
		Melchor Ocampo	761	Independent	Commemorative	
		Part of Original College at Pazcuaro	C108	Colonial	Commemorative	
		Vasco de Quiroga	760	Colonial	Commemorative	
	Nameless 1934-1946					
		Monument to the Heroic Cadets	716b	Independent	Definitive	
1941						


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Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
	National Sport Games of the Revolution					
		Javelin Thrower	767	Independent	Commemorative	
1942						
	75 Anniversary of the Ateneo Fuente					
		Ateneo Building	780	Independent	Commemorative	
	Inauguration of the Astrophysics Observatory at Tonanzintla, Puebla					
		Black Cloud in Orion	774		Commemorative	
		Planetary Nebula in Lyra	C124		Commemorative	
		Russell Diagrams	C125		Commemorative	
		Spiral Galaxy in the Hunting Dogs	776		Commemorative	
		Spiral Galaxy NGC 4594	C123		Commemorative	
		Total Solar Eclipse	775		Commemorative	
	IV Centenary of the Foundation of Guadalajara					
		Church of Zapopan	C120	Colonial	Commemorative	
		Government Palace	772	Colonial	Commemorative	
		Guadalajara Arms	C122	Colonial	Commemorative	
		Independence Monument to Hidalgo	771	Colonial	Commemorative	
		Our Lady of Guadalupe Church	C121	Colonial	Commemorative	
		View of Guadalajara	773	Colonial	Commemorative	
	IV Centenary of the Foundation of Merida					


Appendix IV. List of Stamps

Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Campanile of Cathedral at Merida	C119	Colonial	Commemorative	
		Casa de Montejo	C118	Colonial	Commemorative	
		Merida Coat of Arms	770	Colonial	Commemorative	
		Queen of Uxmal Mayan Sculpture	769	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
		Serpents Columns at Chichén Itzá	768	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
		Tower of the Convent and Mayan Relief	C117	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
	IV Centenary of the Foundation of San Miguel de Allende					
		Birthplace of Allende	C130	Colonial	Commemorative	
		Church of Our Lady of Health	C131	Colonial	Commemorative	
	Second Inter-American Conference of Agriculture					


Appendix IV. List of Stamps

Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Corn	C126	Independent	Commemorative	
		Corn	C127	Independent	Commemorative	
		Corn	C128	Independent	Commemorative	
		Mother Earth	777	Independent	Commemorative	
		Sowing Wheat	778	Independent	Commemorative	
		Western Hemisphere Carrying Torch	779	Independent	Commemorative	
1943						
	IV Centenary of the Foundation of San Miguel de Allende					
		Ignacio José de Allende	783	Colonial	Commemorative	
		Las Monjas Church	781	Colonial	Commemorative	
		San Miguel Church	782	Colonial	Commemorative	
		View of San Miguel de Allende	C129	Colonial	Commemorative	
1944						
	Air Post Stamp of 1934-1935					
		Eagle Man and Landscape	C132	Pre-Hispanic	Definitive	
		Mictlantecuhltli	C133	Pre-Hispanic	Definitive	
		Stylised Pyramid and Uruapan Pottery	C138	Pre-Hispanic	Definitive	
	America United Defends its Liberty					
		Liberty	790	Independent	Commemorative	
	Flight Symbol Type					

Appendix IV. List of Stamps

Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Symbol of Flight	C141	Independent	Commemorative	
	III Book Fair and National Exhibition of Film and Radio					
		Microphone, Book and Camera	C142	Independent	Commemorative	
	Inauguration of the Highway Mexico-Guadalajara					
		Road Side Monument	789	Independent	Commemorative	
	Nameless 1934-1946					
		Arch of the Revolution	786	Independent	Definitive	
		Cross of Palenque	788	Pre-Hispanic	Definitive	
		Tehuana Indian	785	Independent	Definitive	
		Tower of Los Remedios	787	Colonial	Definitive	
		Yalalteca Indian	784	Independent	Definitive	
	III Book Fair, October, 1944					
		Juan M. Castorena	791	Colonial	Commemorative	
		Microphook, Book and Camera	C142	Independent	Commemorative	
1945						
	Air Post Stamp of 1934-1935					
		Aztec Bird Man	C137	Pre-Hispanic	Definitive	
		Eagle Man and Airplanes	C139	Pre-Hispanic	Definitive	
		Orizaba Volcano	C135	Independent	Definitive	
		Symbolical of Flight	C136	Independent	Definitive	
		Tláloc	C134	Pre-Hispanic	Definitive	
	National Campaign Pro-Literacy					

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Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Face with blindfold	806	Independent	Commemorative	
		Face with blindfold	807	Independent	Commemorative	
		Face with blindfold	808	Independent	Commemorative	
		Face with blindfold	C153	Independent	Commemorative	
		Face with blindfold	C154	Independent	Commemorative	
		Face with blindfold	809	Independent	Commemorative	
		Face with blindfold	C156	Independent	Commemorative	
		Face with blindfold	811	Independent	Commemorative	
		Face with blindfold	C157	Independent	Commemorative	
		Face with blindfold	C155	Independent	Commemorative	
		Face with blindfold	810	Independent	Commemorative	
	Inter-American Conference on Problems of War and Peace					
		Hands Holding Globe Showing Western Hemisphere	792	Independent	Commemorative	
		Hands Holding Globe Showing Western Hemisphere	C143	Independent	Commemorative	
		Hands Holding Globe Showing Western Hemisphere	C144	Independent	Commemorative	
		Hands Holding Globe Showing Western Hemisphere	793	Independent	Commemorative	
		Hands Holding Globe Showing Western Hemisphere	C146	Independent	Commemorative	
		Hands Holding Globe Showing Western Hemisphere	795	Independent	Commemorative	

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Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Hands Holding Globe Showing Western Hemisphere	C147	Independent	Commemorative	
		Hands Holding Globe Showing Western Hemisphere	C145	Independent	Commemorative	
		Hands Holding Globe Showing Western Hemisphere	794	Independent	Commemorative	
	Reconstruction of the Teatro de la Paz, San Luis Potosí					
		Theatre of Peace	801	Independent	Commemorative	
		Theatre of Peace	C148	Independent	Commemorative	
		Theatre of Peace	C149	Independent	Commemorative	
		Theatre of Peace	802	Independent	Commemorative	
		Theatre of Peace	C151	Independent	Commemorative	
		Theatre of Peace	C152	Independent	Commemorative	
		Theatre of Peace	C150	Independent	Commemorative	
		Theatre of Peace	803	Independent	Commemorative	
		Theatre of Peace	804	Independent	Commemorative	
	Nameless 1934-1946					
		Fountain of Diana, The Huntress	805	Independent	Definitive	
		Independence Monument, Puebla	796	Independent	Definitive	
		Monument to the Heroic Cadets	797	Independent	Definitive	
		National Coat of Arms	800	Pre-Hispanic	Definitive	
		Ruins of Mitla	799	Pre-Hispanic	Definitive	
		Stone of Tizoc	798	Pre-Hispanic	Definitive	
1946						
	Air Post Stamp of 1934-1935					
		Natives Looking at Airplane and Orizaba	C140	Independent	Definitive	
	IV Centenary of the Zacatecas City					
		Arms of Zacatecas	821	Colonial	Commemorative	

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Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Arms of Zacatecas	820	Colonial	Commemorative	
		Enrique Estrada	C165	Independent	Commemorative	
		Father Margil de Jesus and Plane Over Zacatecas	C163	Colonial	Commemorative	
		Fernando Villalpando	C166	Independent	Commemorative	
		Francisco García Salinas	824	Independent	Commemorative	
		Genaro Codina	C164	Independent	Commemorative	
		Monument to General Gonzalez Ortega	822	Independent	Commemorative	
		Ramón López Velarde	823	Independent	Commemorative	
	Martinez Enriquez de Almanza, Founder of the Mexican Post					
		Martinez Enriquez de Almanza	812	Colonial	Commemorative	
	Nameless 1934-1946					
		Charro	800a	Independent	Definitive	
		Independence Monument	795a	Independent	Definitive	
	United Nations					
		Allegory of World Pace	813	Independent	Commemorative	
		Allegory of World Pace	814	Independent	Commemorative	
		Allegory of World Pace	815	Independent	Commemorative	
		Allegory of World Pace	816	Independent	Commemorative	
		Allegory of World Pace	818	Independent	Commemorative	
		Allegory of World Pace	817	Independent	Commemorative	
		Torch, Laurel and Flag Decorated ONU	C158	Independent	Commemorative	
		Torch, Laurel and Flag Decorated ONU	C159	Independent	Commemorative	
		Torch, Laurel and Flag Decorated ONU	C161	Independent	Commemorative	
		Torch, Laurel and Flag Decorated ONU	C162	Independent	Commemorative	
		Torch, Laurel and Flag	C160	Independent	Commemorative	



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Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Decorated ONU				
1947						
	Air Post Stamp of 1929-1934					
		Symbolical of Flight	C173	Independent	Definitive	
	Air Post Stamp of 1934-1935					
		Aztec Bird Man	C174	Pre-Hispanic	Definitive	
		Eagle Man and Airplanes	C176	Pre-Hispanic	Definitive	
		Eagle Man and Landscape	C177a	Pre-Hispanic	Definitive	
		Mictlantecuhli	C170	Pre-Hispanic	Definitive	
		Natives Looking at Airplane and Orizaba	C177	Independent	Definitive	
		Orizaba Volcano	C172	Independent	Definitive	
		Stylised Pyramid and Uruapan Pottery	C175	Pre-Hispanic	Definitive	
		Tláloc	C171	Pre-Hispanic	Definitive	
	Air Post Stamp of 1947					
		Douglas DC-4	C179	Independent	Commemorative	
		Emilio Carranza	C178	Independent	Commemorative	
	America United Defends Its Liberty					
		Liberty	845	Independent	Commemorative	
	Centenary of the Battles of Chapultepec, Churubusco and Molino del Rey					
		Antonio de León	C184	Independent	Commemorative	
	Centenary of the Battles of Chapultepec, Churubusco and Molino del Rey					
		Agustín Melgar	833	Independent	Commemorative	
		Chapultepec Castle	C182	Independent	Commemorative	
		Fernando Montes de Oca	831	Independent	Commemorative	
		Flag of San Blas Battalion	836	Independent	Commemorative	
		Francisco Márquez	830	Independent	Commemorative	
		Juan de la Barrera	C181	Independent	Commemorative	





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Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Juan Escutia	832	Independent	Commemorative	
		Lucas Balderas	835	Independent	Commemorative	
		Manuel Rincón	834	Independent	Commemorative	
		Pedro Anaya	C183	Independent	Commemorative	
		Vicente Suárez	C180	Independent	Commemorative	
	International Philatelic Exhibition					
		Arms of Mexico and Stamp of 1st US Issue	827	Independent	Commemorative	
		F.D. Roosevelt and Stamp of 1st Mexican Issue	826	Independent	Commemorative	
	International Philatelic Exhibition, New York					
		Franklin D. Roosevelt and Stamp of 1st Mexican Issue	C167	Independent	Commemorative	
		Franklin D. Roosevelt and Stamp of 1st Mexican Issue	C168	Independent	Commemorative	
		Franklin D. Roosevelt and Stamp of 1st Mexican Issue	C169	Independent	Commemorative	
	Flight Symbol Type					
		Symbol of Flight	C185	Independent	Commemorative	
	Inauguration of the Highway Mexico-Guadalajara					
		Roadside Monument	842	Independent	Commemorative	
	Martinez Enriquez de Almanza, Founder of the Mexican Post					
		Martinez Enriquez de Almanza	843	Colonial	Commemorative	
	Nameless 1934-1946					
		Arch of the Revolution	840	Independent	Definitive	
		Communications Building	829	Independent	Definitive	
		Cross of Palenque	844	Pre-Hispanic	Definitive	
		Fountain of Diana, The Huntress	839	Independent	Definitive	
		Independence Monument, Puebla	846	Independent	Definitive	




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Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Justo Sierra	828	Independent	Definitive	
		Monument to the Heroic Cadets	847	Independent	Definitive	
		National Coat of Arms	850	Pre-Hispanic	Definitive	
		Postman	825	Independent	Definitive	
		Ruins of Mitla	849	Pre-Hispanic	Definitive	
		Stone of Tizoc	848	Pre-Hispanic	Definitive	
		Tehuana Indian	838	Independent	Definitive	
		Tower of Los Remedios	841	Independent	Definitive	
		Yalalteca Indian	837	Independent	Definitive	
1950						
	75 Anniversary of the UPU					
		Aztec Courier	C203	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
		Postal Service	872	Independent	Commemorative	
		Symbols of Universal Postal Service	C204	Independent	Commemorative	
	Architecture and Archaeology					
		Carved Head, Veracruz	863	Pre-Hispanic	Definitive	
		Charro	851	Independent	Definitive	
		Convent and Carved Stone Head of Tula, Hidalgo	864	Pre-Hispanic and Colonial	Definitive	
		Convent, Morelos	858	Colonial	Definitive	



Appendix IV. List of Stamps

Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Cauhtémoc	C190	Pre-Hispanic	Definitive	
		Galleon and Arms of Campeche	865	Colonial	Definitive	
		Guerrero, View of Taxco	C191	Colonial	Definitive	
		Indian Dancer, Michoacán	861	Independent	Definitive	
		Mayan Bas-relief profile	C193	Pre-Hispanic	Definitive	
		Mayan Musicians	C188	Pre-Hispanic	Definitive	
		Michoacan Masks	C189	Independent	Definitive	
		Modern Building, Mexico City	857	Independent	Definitive	
		Puebla Cathedral	860	Colonial	Definitive	
		Puebla Dance of the Half Moon	C195	Independent	Definitive	
	Inauguration of the International Highway Ciudad Juárez-Ocotlán					
		Benito Juárez	C200	Independent	Commemorative	



Appendix IV. List of Stamps

Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Highway Bridge	868	Independent	Commemorative	
		Miguel Alemán	C199	Independent	Commemorative	
		Symbolical Construction	869	Independent	Commemorative	
	Inauguration of the Southeast Railway					
		Map and Locomotive	871	Independent	Commemorative	
		Miguel Alemán	C202	Independent	Commemorative	
		Railroad Labourer	870	Independent	Commemorative	
		Trains Crossing Isthmus of Tehuantepec	C201	Independent	Commemorative	
1951						
	Architecture and Archaeology					
		Benito Juárez	859	Independent	Definitive	
		Danza de la Pluma	C187	Independent	Definitive	
		Guerrero Acapulco, Water front	C186	Independent	Definitive	
		La Purisima Church, Monterrey	856	Independent	Definitive	
		Olmec Stone Head	862	Pre-Hispanic	Definitive	
		Queretaro Architecture	C196	Colonial	Definitive	




Appendix IV. List of Stamps

Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Tamuin Adolescent	C192	Pre-Hispanic	Definitive	
1952						
	Architecture and Archaeology					
		Francisco I. Madero	866	Independent	Definitive	
		Mexico City University Stadium	C194	Independent	Definitive	
		Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla	C197	Independent	Definitive	
		Modern Building, Mexico City	C198	Independent	Definitive	
		Modern Building, Mexico City	867	Independent	Definitive	
1953						
	Architecture and Archaeology					
		Cuauhtémoc	C210	Pre-Hispanic	Definitive	
		Danza de la Pluma	C209	Independent	Definitive	
		Guerrero Acapulco, Water front	C208	Independent	Definitive	
		Mayan Bas-relief profile	C212	Pre-Hispanic	Definitive	
		Mexico City University Stadium	C213	Independent	Definitive	
		Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla	C216	Independent	Definitive	
		Puebla Dance of the Half Moon	C214	Independent	Definitive	
		Queretaro Architecture	C215	Colonial	Definitive	
	Bi-Centenary of Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla Birth					



Appendix IV. List of Stamps

Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla	873	Independent	Commemorative	
		Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla	C206	Colonial	Commemorative	
		Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla and Mexican Flag	C207	Colonial	Commemorative	
1954						
	Architecture and Archaeology					
		Benito Juárez	877	Independent	Definitive	
		Carved Head, Veracruz	881	Pre-Hispanic	Definitive	
		Convent, Morelos	876	Independent	Definitive	
		Galleon and Arms of Campeche	883	Colonial	Definitive	
		Indian Dancer, Michoacán	879	Independent	Definitive	
		Modern Building, Mexico City	875	Independent	Definitive	
		Modern Building, Mexico City	885	Independent	Definitive	
		Olmec Stone Head	880	Pre-Hispanic	Definitive	
	Centenary of the Adoption of the Mexican national Anthem					

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Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Allegory and National Coat of Arms	C224	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
		Allegory and National Coat of Arms	C225	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
		Allegory and National Coat of Arms	C226	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
		National Anthem	887	Independent	Commemorative	
		National Anthem	888	Independent	Commemorative	
		National Anthem	889	Independent	Commemorative	
	VII Centro-American and Caribbean Sport Games					
		Aztec Messenger of the Sun	886	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
		Mayan Ball Court and Player	C222	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
		Modern Stadium	C223	Independent	Commemorative	
1955						
	Architecture and Archaeology					
		Guerrero, View of Taxco	C220c	Colonial	Definitive	
		Mayan bas-relief profile	C220e	Pre-Hispanic	Definitive	
		Michoacan Masks	C220a	Independent	Definitive	
	II Pan-American Games					



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Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Aztec God Tezcatlipoca	C227	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
		Stadium and Map	C228	Independent	Commemorative	
		Torch Bearer and Stadium	890	Independent	Commemorative	
1956						
	Architecture and Archaeology					
		Francisco I. Madero	884	Independent	Definitive	
		Guerrero Acapulco, Water front	C218	Independent	Definitive	
		Modern Building, Mexico City	C217	Independent	Definitive	
		Tamuin Adolescent	C211	Pre-Hispanic	Definitive	
	Centenary of the Mexican National Act of 1857					
		Francisco Zarco	900	Independent	Commemorative	
		Guillermo Prieto	898	Independent	Commemorative	
		León Guzmán and Ignacio Ramirez	C237	Independent	Commemorative	
		León Guzmán and Ignacio Ramirez	C237a	Independent	Commemorative	
		Ponciano Arriaga	899	Independent	Commemorative	
		Valentin Gómez Farias and Melchor Ocampo	C236	Independent	Commemorative	
	Postage Stamp Centenary					


Appendix IV. List of Stamps

Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Bird, Aztec Design	892	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
		Corn, Aztec Design	894	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
		Deer, Aztec Design	895	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
		Flowers, Aztec Design	893	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
		José María Morelos y Pavón	C231	Independent	Commemorative	
		Man, Aztec Design	896	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	

Appendix IV. List of Stamps

Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Ollin Movement, Aztec Design	891	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
		Pointing Hand and School	C234	Independent	Commemorative	
		Sombrero and Spurs	C233	Independent	Commemorative	
		Viceroy Enriquez de Almanza, bell tower and coach	C230	Colonial	Commemorative	
		Woman and Child on Horseback	C232	Independent	Commemorative	
		Xochicalco Serpent and Mask	C229	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
	Centenary of the International Philatelic Exhibition					
		Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla	897	Independent	Commemorative	
	IV Inter-American Congress of Gulf and Caribbean Regional Tourism					
		Americas Map	C238	Independent	Commemorative	
	XX International Geological Congress					
		Paricutin Volcano	C235	Independent	Commemorative	
1957						
	50th Anniversary of the Death of Jesús García, Nacozari Heroe					
		Jesús García	C242	Independent	Commemorative	
	Centenary of the Adoption of the Metric System					
		Globe, Weights and Measure	C241	Independent	Commemorative	
	Centenary of the Mexican National Act of 1857					
		Allegorical Figure Writing the	C240	Independent	Commemorative	



Appendix IV. List of Stamps

Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Law				
		Allegory of Mexico	901	Independent	Commemorative	
		National Assembly	902	Independent	Commemorative	
		National Coat of Arms and Scales	C239	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
1958						
	Architecture and Archaeology					
		Convent and Carved Stone Head of Tula, Hidalgo	882	Pre-Hispanic	Definitive	
	X Anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights					
		Independence Monument	C245	Independent	Commemorative	
	XX Anniversary of the Nationalization of Mexican Oil					
		Derricks at Night	C244	Independent	Commemorative	
		Map of Mexico and Refinery	904	Independent	Commemorative	
		National Coat of Arms and Oil Derrick	903	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
		Oil Industry Symbols	C243	Independent	Commemorative	
1959						
	27th Meeting of the Economic and Social Council of UN					
		UN Headquarters New York	906	Independent	Commemorative	
	Inauguration of Headquarters of UNESCO					
		UNESCO Building and Eiffel	905	Independent	Commemorative	


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Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Tower				
1960						
	150 Anniversary of the National Independence of Mexico					
		Bell Dolores and Eagle	C251	Independent	Commemorative	
		Bell of Dolores and Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla	912	Independent	Commemorative	
		Dolores Church	C252	Independent	Commemorative	
		Independence Bell	910	Independent	Commemorative	
		Mexican Flag	C250	Independent	Commemorative	
		Monument to Heroes of Independence	911	Independent	Commemorative	
	50th Anniversary of the National Aviation 1910-1960					
		Alberto Braniff's 1910 Plane, Douglas DC7 and Mexican Airlines Map	C247	Independent	Commemorative	
		Alberto Braniff's 1910 Plane, Douglas DC7 and Mexican Airlines Map	C248	Independent	Commemorative	
	50th Anniversary of the Mexican Revolution					
		Agricultural Reform	913	Independent	Commemorative	
		Aviation (Douglas DC-8 Airliner)	C253	Independent	Commemorative	
		Currency Stability -Bank and Money-	918	Independent	Commemorative	
		Electrification	916	Independent	Commemorative	
		Oil Industry	C254	Independent	Commemorative	

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Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Political Development - Schools-	917	Independent	Commemorative	
		Road Development	C255	Independent	Commemorative	
		Symbols of Health and Education	914	Independent	Commemorative	
		Water Power -Dam-	C256	Independent	Commemorative	
	Year of President Carranza. Centenary of his Birth 1959					
		Venustiano Carranza	907	Independent	Commemorative	
		Venustiano Carranza	C246	Independent	Commemorative	
	Architecture and Archaeology					
		Cuauhtémoc	C220b	Pre-Hispanic	Definitive	
		Dance of the Half Moon	C219	Independent	Definitive	
		Dance of the Half Moon	C220g	Independent	Definitive	
		Mayan Musicians	C220	Pre-Hispanic	Definitive	
		Mexico City University Stadium	C220f	Independent	Definitive	


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Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Tamuin Adolescent	C220d	Pre-Hispanic	Definitive	
	Centenary of the Decease of Baron Alexander von Humboldt (1859)					
		Humboldt Statue	908	Independent	Commemorative	
	Homage to Postage Stamp Collector of Mexico					
		Francisco I. Madero	909	Independent	Commemorative	
		Modern Building	C249	Independent	Commemorative	
	VIII Population Census of 1960					
		Count of Revillagigedo	C257	Colonial	Commemorative	
1961						
	25th Anniversary of the National Polytechnic Institute					
		Draftsman and Surveyor	923	Independent	Commemorative	
	50th Anniversary of the Mexican Revolution					
		Sailor and Soldier	915	Independent	Commemorative	
	Inauguration of the Railway from Chihuahua to Pacific Coast					
		Railroad Bridge	C259	Independent	Commemorative	
		Railroad Tracks and Map	C258	Independent	Commemorative	
		Tunnel	919	Independent	Commemorative	
1962						
	25th Anniversary of the National Polytechnic Institute					
		Laboratory	C261	Independent	Commemorative	
	Architecture and Archaeology					


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Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Modern Building, Mexico City	C268	Independent	Definitive	
		Queretaro Architecture	C266	Colonial	Definitive	
	Centenary of the Battle of the 5th May at Puebla					
		Ignacio Zaragoza	C260	Independent	Commemorative	
		Insurgent at Marker for the Battle	922	Independent	Commemorative	
	Centenary of the First Flight of Mexican Balloonist, Joaquin de la Cantolla y Rico					
		Balloon over Zocalo, Mexico City	C264	Independent	Commemorative	
	The World Against Malaria					
		Microscope, Mosquito and Globe	920	Independent	Commemorative	
	World Fair, Seattle 1962					
		Space Needle and Gear Wheels	925	Independent	Commemorative	
	Promotion of Mental Health					
		Plumblin	924	Independent	Commemorative	
	Inter-American Economic and Social Council Meeting					
		Globe	926	Independent	Commemorative	
		Globe	C263	Independent	Commemorative	
	Visit Chilean President					
		Jorge Alessandri	927	Independent	Commemorative	
	Visit of USA President					
		John F. Kennedy	C262	Independent	Commemorative	
	Visit of Brazil President					
		Joao Goulart	921	Independent	Commemorative	
1963						
	150 Anniversary of the First Anahuac Congress					
		José María Morelos y Pavón	939	Independent	Commemorative	
	2nd Ordinary Session Term of the Latin-American Association of Free Trade					



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Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		ALALC Emblem	C269	Independent	Commemorative	
	50th Anniversary of the Death of José Guadalupe Posada					
		Don Quixote	C278	Independent	Commemorative	
	77th American Philatelic Society Convention					
		EXMEX Emblem and Postmark	C274	Independent	Commemorative	
		Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla	937	Independent	Commemorative	
	90th Anniversary of the University of Sinaloa Foundation					
		Arms of Sinaloa University	941	Independent	Commemorative	
	Food for Peace					
		Wheat Emblem	934	Independent	Commemorative	
	Architecture and Archaeology					
		Francisco I. Madero	930	Independent	Definitive	
		Guerrero, View of Taxco	C220h	Colonial	Definitive	
		Mexico City University Stadium	C265	Independent	Definitive	
		Michoacan Masks	C221	Independent	Definitive	
		Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla	C267	Independent	Definitive	
		Modern Building, Mexico City	931	Independent	Definitive	
		Olmec Stone Head	948	Pre-Hispanic	Definitive	
		Puebla Cathedral	946	Colonial	Definitive	
	Centenary of the Mexican national Act of 1857					


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Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Guillermo Prieto	897a	Independent	Commemorative	
	Centenary of the International Red Cross					
		Dove and Emblem	C277	Independent	Commemorative	
		Tree of Life	938	Independent	Commemorative	
	Centenary of the Birth of Belisario Domínguez					
		Belisario Domínguez	936	Independent	Commemorative	
	IV Anniversary of the City of Durango Foundation					
		Mercado Mountains and Arms of Durango	935	Colonial	Commemorative	
	International Symposium of Architecture					
		Mayan and Modern Architecture	C276	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
	Visit of Venezuelan President					
		Rómulo Betancourt	932	Independent	Commemorative	
	Visit of Mr President of the Yugoslavia Republic					
		Josip Broz-Tito	C275	Independent	Commemorative	
	Visit of Mr President of Bolivia Republic					
		Víctor Paz Estenssoro	940	Independent	Commemorative	
	XI Railway Pan-American Congress					
		Diesel Train, Rail Cross and Globe	942	Independent	Commemorative	
		Horse Drawn Rail Coach, Old and New Trains	C279	Independent	Commemorative	
	XIX Congress of the International Chamber of Commerce					




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Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Congress Emblem	933	Independent	Commemorative	
		Map	C271	Independent	Commemorative	
	XXV Anniversary of the Oil Industry Nationalization					
		National Coat of Arms and Refinery	C270	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
1964						
	25th Anniversary of the Statute of the Workers to the Service of the Union					
		Emblem	954	Independent	Commemorative	
	400 Years of Mexican-Philippine Friendship					
		Galleon	C300		Commemorative	
		José Rizal	956	Independent	Commemorative	
		Map Showing 16th Century Voyages Between Mexico and Philippines	C301		Commemorative	
		Miguel López de Legaspi	957		Commemorative	
	50th Anniversary of the Storm of Zacatecas					
		View of Zacatecas	958	Independent	Commemorative	
	Architecture and Archaeology					
		Carved Head, Veracruz	949	Pre-Hispanic	Definitive	




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Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Chapultepec Castle	C297	Colonial	Definitive	
		Convent and Carved Stone Head of Tula, Hidalgo	950	Pre-Hispanic	Definitive	
		Convent, Morelos	944	Colonial	Definitive	
		Dance of the Half Moon	C289	Independent	Definitive	
		Modern Building, Mexico City	C298	Independent	Definitive	
	Centenary of the Mexican National Academy of Medicine					
		National Coat of Arms and Emblem	955	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
	Centenary of the Battle of Jahuactal, Tabasco					
		Gregorio Méndez	959	Independent	Commemorative	
	Fiftieth Anniversary of the Heroic Defence of Veracruz (against USA)					
		José Azueta and Virgilo Uribe	C284	Independent	Commemorative	
	Ratification of Chamizal Treaty					
		John F. Kennedy and Adolfo López Mateos	C282	Independent	Commemorative	
	Visit of her Majesty Queen Juliana of the Netherlands					
		Queen Juliana	C283	Independent	Commemorative	
	Visit of the President of the Republic of France Charles de Gaulle					
		Charles de Gaulle	C281	Independent	Commemorative	
	X Conference of the IBA, July 1964					

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Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		National Coat of Arms, Butterfly World Map, Sword and Scales of Justice	C299	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
	XV Anniversary of the Declaration of Universal Human Rights and in Honour to Honour a Eleanor Roosevelt					
		Eleanor Roosevelt	C280	Independent	Commemorative	
1965						
	150 Anniversary of the First Mexican National Act					
		José María Morelos y Pavón	962	Independent	Commemorative	
	1st Pre-Olympic Emission of the XIX Olympic Games, Mexico 1968					
		Athlete Clay Figure of Colima	965	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
		Athlete Clay Figure of Colima	966	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	

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Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Chinkultic Disk	C310	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
		Clay Sculpture of Ballcourt, players, spectators and temple	C311	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
		Pre-Hispanic Runner Figurine	C309	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
	50th Anniversary of the Aguascalientes Convention					
		Morelos Theatre, Aguascalientes	960	Independent	Commemorative	
	700 Anniversary of the Birth of Dante Alighieri					
		Dante by Raphael	C308		Commemorative	
	Year of the International Cooperation					
		ICY Emblem	964	Independent	Commemorative	
	Architecture and Archaeology					
		Francisco I. Madero	952	Independent	Definitive	
		Modern Building, Mexico City	943	Independent	Definitive	
	Bi-Centenary of the Birth of Andrés Manuel del Rio					
		Andrés Manuel del Rio	961	Colonial	Commemorative	
	Centenary of the International Union of					



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Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
	Telecommunications					
		Microwave Tower, Villahermosa Tabasco	C304	Independent	Commemorative	
		Radio Electric Unit of San Benito	C303	Independent	Commemorative	
	Tree's Day					
		Trees	963	Independent	Commemorative	
	World Fair at New York					
		Mayan Iconography and Unisphere	C307	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
	Inauguration of Reservoir Nezahualcóyotl					
		Nezahualcóyotl Dam	C302	Independent	Commemorative	
	José María Morelos y Pavón					
		José María Morelos y Pavón	967	Independent	Commemorative	
	Visit of King Baudouin and Queen Fabiola, Kings of the Belgians					
		King Baudouin and Queen Fabiola	C306	Independent	Commemorative	
	XX World Scout Conference					
		Campfire Tent and scout Emblem	C305	Independent	Commemorative	
1966						
	1966 Year of the Friendship between Mexico and Central America					



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Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		1966 Year of the Friendship	C317	Independent	Commemorative	
	20th UNESCO's Anniversary					
		UNESCO Emblem	C321	Independent	Commemorative	
	2nd Pre-Olympic Emission. XIX Olympic Games, Mexico 1968					
		Football	C319	Independent	Commemorative	
		Lighting Olympic	C320	Independent	Commemorative	
		Obstacle Race	C318	Independent	Commemorative	
		Running and Jumping	974	Independent	Commemorative	
		Wrestling	975	Independent	Commemorative	
	400 Anniversary of the Death of Fray Bartolomé de las Casas					
		Bartolomé de las Casas	971	Colonial	Commemorative	
	50th Anniversary of the Foundation of the Superior School of Mechanic and Electric Engineering (ESIME)					
		Mechanical Drawings	972	Independent	Commemorative	
	50th Anniversary of the Agrarian Reform Law					
		Emiliano Zapata	968	Independent	Commemorative	
		Emiliano Zapata	969	Independent	Commemorative	
	Rice's International Year					
		FAO Emblem	973	Independent	Commemorative	
	Architecture and Archaeology					
		Benito Juárez	945	Independent	Definitive	
		Galleon and Arms of Campeche	951	Colonial	Definitive	
		Queretaro Architecture	C296	Colonial	Definitive	
	IV Centenary of Circumnavigation of Father Urdaneta					
		Father Andres de Urdaneta and Compass Rose	C313	Colonial	Commemorative	
	IX Americas and Spain Postal Union Congress					


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Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Indigenous Iconography and emblem	970	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
		Indigenous Iconography and emblem	C315	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
		Pennant and Post Horn	C314	Independent	Commemorative	
	Rubén Dario					
		Rubén Dario	C312	Independent	Commemorative	
	Visit of the General Secretary of the UN					
		U Thant	C316	Independent	Commemorative	
1967						
	150 Anniversary of the Decease of Pedro Moreno					
		Pedro Moreno	987	Independent	Commemorative	
	3rd Pre-Olympic emission of the XIX Olympic Games, Mexico 1968					
		Basketball	982	Independent	Commemorative	
		Bicycling	984	Independent	Commemorative	
		Canoeing	981	Independent	Commemorative	
		Diving	C328	Independent	Commemorative	
		Fencing	985	Independent	Commemorative	
		Football	C331	Independent	Commemorative	

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Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Hockey	983	Independent	Commemorative	
		Runners	C329	Independent	Commemorative	
		Weight Lifters	C330	Independent	Commemorative	
	50th Anniversary of the Mexican National Act					
		First Page of Constitution	976	Independent	Commemorative	
	50th Anniversary of the Mexican National Act					
		Venustiano Carranza	C322	Independent	Commemorative	
	50th Anniversary of the Military Medical School					
		National Coat of Arms and Emblem	C324	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
	50th Anniversary of the State of Nayarit					
		Huichol	978	Independent	Commemorative	
	50th Anniversary of the First Air Mail in Mexico, from Pachuca to Mexico City					
		Biplane	C326	Independent	Commemorative	
		Horacio Ruíz Gaviño	C325	Independent	Commemorative	
	7th World Oil Congress					
		Pyramid of the Sun and Oil Refinery	977	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
	International Tourism Year					




Appendix IV. List of Stamps

Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Marco Polo and ITY	C327		Commemorative	
	Architecture and Archaeology					
		Convent and Carved Stone Head of Tula, Hidalgo	928	Pre-Hispanic	Definitive	
		Galleon and Arms of Campeche	929	Colonial	Definitive	
		Puebla Cathedral	878	Colonial	Definitive	
	Centenary if the Ateneo Fuente, Coahuila					
		Artemio de Arizpe	986	Independent	Commemorative	
	Centenary of Degollado Theatre					
		Degollado Theatre, Guadalajara	979	Independent	Commemorative	
	Centenary of the Triumph of the Republic and Execution of Maximiliano I					
		National Coat of Arms	980	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
	World Meteorological Day					
		Tiros Satellite over Earth	C323	Independent	Commemorative	
	World Plan of Telecommunications					
		Heinrich Hertz and James Clerk Maxwell	C332	Independent	Commemorative	
1968						
	4th Pre-Olympic emission. Olympic Games, Mexico 1968					
		Boxing	994	Independent	Commemorative	
		Equestrian	C338	Independent	Commemorative	



Appendix IV. List of Stamps

Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Gymnastics	993	Independent	Commemorative	
		Pentathlon	991	Independent	Commemorative	
		Pistol Shoot	995	Independent	Commemorative	
		Rowing	C336	Independent	Commemorative	
		Sailing	C335	Independent	Commemorative	
		Volleyball	C337	Independent	Commemorative	
		Waterpolo	992	Independent	Commemorative	
		Wrestling	990	Independent	Commemorative	
	Architecture and Archaeology					
		Mayan Musicians	C347	Pre-Hispanic	Definitive	
	Centenary of the Foundation of the National School of Engineers					
		Mining Palace	989	Independent	Commemorative	
	Centenary of the Foundation of the National Preparatory School					
		Gabino Barreda	988	Independent	Commemorative	
	International Philatelic Exhibition					
		Efimex Emblem Showing Official Stamp of 1884	C333	Independent	Commemorative	
		Efimex Emblem Showing Official Stamp of 1884	C334	Independent	Commemorative	
		Efimex Emblem Showing Official Stamp of 1884	C345	Independent	Commemorative	
	Decease of Reverend Martin Luther King Jr.					
		Martin Luther King, Jr.	C339	Independent	Commemorative	
	XIX Olympic Games Mexico 1968					
		Discobolus	C341	Independent	Commemorative	



Appendix IV. List of Stamps

Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Map of Mexico and Peace Dove	996	Independent	Commemorative	
		Olympics Medals	C342	Independent	Commemorative	
		Peace Dove and Olympic Rings	C340	Independent	Commemorative	
		Pyramid of the Sun at Teotihuacan	1001	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
		Sports Palace	999	Independent	Commemorative	
		Symbolic Design for Mexican	C344	Independent	Commemorative	




Appendix IV. List of Stamps

Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Olympic Games				
		Symbols of Cultural Events	1000	Independent	Commemorative	
		Symbols of Olympic Sports Events	C343	Independent	Commemorative	
		Telecommunications Tower	998	Independent	Commemorative	
		University City Olympic Stadium	997	Independent	Commemorative	
1969						
	200 Years of the Birth of General Ignacio Allende					
		Ignacio Allende	1007	Colonial	Commemorative	
	450 Anniversary of the Foundation of the State of Veracruz					
		Arms of Veracruz	1002	Colonial	Commemorative	
	50th Anniversary of the ILO					
		Honeycomb, Bee and ILO Emblem	1006	Independent	Commemorative	
	Architecture and Archaeology					



Appendix IV. List of Stamps

Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Dance of the Half Moon	C349	Independent	Definitive	
		Mexico City University Stadium	C348	Independent	Definitive	
		Olmec Stone Head	1004	Pre-Hispanic	Definitive	
		Puebla Cathedral	1003	Colonial	Definitive	
	Centenary of the Birth of Mahatma Gandhi					
		Mahatma Gandhi	C352	Independent	Commemorative	
	Friar Junipero Serra. Colonizer of the California					
		Father Francisco Palóu	C346	Colonial	Commemorative	
	Inauguration of Mexican Underground, Mexico City					
		Subway Train	1005	Independent	Commemorative	
	Setting Up of Terrestrial Station for Communications at Tulancingo, Hidalgo					
		Ground Station	C371	Independent	Commemorative	
	IX FIFA's World Championship Jules Rimet					
		Foot and Soccer Ball	C351	Independent	Commemorative	
		Soccer Ball and People	C350	Independent	Commemorative	
	International League of the Red Cross					
		Red Crosses	C370	Independent	Commemorative	
	Tourist Mexico					
		Acapulco Bay	C355	Independent	Commemorative	




Appendix IV. List of Stamps

Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Chichén Itzá, El Caracol, Observatory	C356	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
		El Tajín, Pyramid of the Niches	1008	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
		Pyramid of Teotihuacan, Light and Sound Show	C354	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
	First Landing of Men on the Moon					
		Astronaut's footprint	C353	Independent	Commemorative	
1970						
	200 Years of the Birth of Ludwig van Beethoven					
		Ode to Joy and Beethoven's Signature	C375	Independent	Commemorative	
	25th Anniversary of the UN					
		UN General Assembly	C376	Independent	Commemorative	
	400 Anniversary of the Foundation of Celaya, Guanajuato					
		Arms of Celaya	1029	Colonial	Commemorative	
	50th Anniversary of Military College					
		Helmets of 1920 and 1970	1027	Independent	Commemorative	
	Centenary of the Birth of José María Pino Suárez					
		José María Pino Suarez	1028	Independent	Commemorative	



Appendix IV. List of Stamps

Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
	Total Sun Eclipse 1970					
		Eclipse of Sun	1030	Independent	Commemorative	
	Sport Philatelic Exhibition					
		Emblem	C374	Independent	Commemorative	
	IX FIFA's World Championship Jules Rimet					
		Pre-Hispanic Sculptured Heads and Soccer Ball	C373	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
		Soccer ball and Mexican Masks	C372	Independent	Commemorative	
	IX Population General Census					
		Horse's Head and Symbols of Agriculture	1025	Independent	Commemorative	
		Question Mark	1024	Independent	Commemorative	
	Tourist Mexico					



Appendix IV. List of Stamps

Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Anthropology Museum Mexico	1009	Independent	Commemorative	
		Calle Belaunzaran, Guanajuato	1012	Colonial	Commemorative	
		Puebla Cathedral	1011	Colonial	Commemorative	
		View of Puerto Vallarta, Jalisco	1010	Independent	Commemorative	
	XXI Ophthalmology International Congress					
		Human Eye and Spectrum	1026	Independent	Commemorative	
1971						
	1st Anniversary of the Death of General Lázaro Cárdenas (1895-1970)					

Appendix IV. List of Stamps

Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Lázaro Cárdenas and Banners	1035	Independent	Commemorative	
	25th UNESCO's Anniversary					
		Abstracts of Circles	C390	Independent	Commemorative	
	375 Years of Monterrey Foundation					
		City Arms of Monterrey	1037	Colonial	Commemorative	
	50th Anniversary of Radio Transmission in Mexico					
		Loudspeaker and Sound Waves	1034	Independent	Commemorative	
	5th Centenary of the Birth of Vasco de Quiroga (1470-1565)					
		Vasco de Quiroga and Utopia	1032	Colonial	Commemorative	
	5th Centenary of the Birth of German Engraver Albrecht Dürer (1471-1528)					
		Albrecht Dürer	C393		Commemorative	
	Architecture and Archaeology					


Appendix IV. List of Stamps

Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Guerrero, View of Taxco	C290	Colonial	Definitive	
		Mayan bas-relief profile	C287	Pre-Hispanic	Definitive	
		Mayan Musicians	C285	Pre-Hispanic	Definitive	
		Tamuin Adolescent	C286	Pre-Hispanic	Definitive	
	Art and Science of Mexico					
		Detail of Mural "Hombre en Llamas"	C384	Independent	Commemorative	
		El Paricutín	C383	Independent	Commemorative	
		Mayan Warriors	C380	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
		Self-portrait José María Velasco	C382	Independent	Commemorative	
		Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz	C381	Colonial	Commemorative	
	Bi-centenary of the Birth of Mariano Matamoros					
		Mariano Matamoros by Diego Rivera	C388	Independent	Commemorative	
	Centenary of the Birth of Poet Amado Nervo (1870-1919)					
		Amado Nervo by Unknown Artist	1033	Independent	Commemorative	
	Italy returns to Mexico the Human remains of the Jesuit Father and Historian Francisco Javier Clavijero					


Appendix IV. List of Stamps

Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Francisco Javier Clavijero by P. Clarin	C386	Colonial	Commemorative	
	World Day of Telecommunications, 17th May					
		I.T.U. Emblem	C387	Independent	Commemorative	
	Two Hundred Years of the National Lottery					
		Lottery Balls	1031	Independent	Commemorative	
	In memoriam of Compositor Agustín Lara (1900-1970)					
		Agustín Lara	1036	Independent	Commemorative	
	Philately for the Peace "EXFILCA 70", 2nd International Philatelic Exhibition					
		Stamps of Venezuela, Mexico and Colombia	C385	Independent	Commemorative	
	Philately for the Peace " EXFILIMA 71" 3rd Inter-American Philatelic Exhibition					
		Stamps of Venezuela, Mexico, Colombia and Peru	C391	Independent	Commemorative	
	The Homeland is First (La Patria es Primero),					
		Vicente Guerrero by Juan O'Gorman	C389	Independent	Commemorative	
	Moon 69					
		Galileo Galilei	C378		Commemorative	
		Isaac Newton	C377	Independent	Commemorative	
		Johannes Kepler	C379		Commemorative	
	V World Psychiatry Congress					
		Faces and Hand	C392	Independent	Commemorative	
1972						
	25th Anniversary of the UNICEF (in 1971)					
		Mother and Child by G. Galvin	C408	Independent	Commemorative	
	250 Years of the First Mexican Newspaper					
		First Issue of "Gaceta de Mexico"	1039	Colonial	Commemorative	

Appendix IV. List of Stamps

Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
	400 Anniversary of the Death of Friar Pedro de Gante (1480-1572)					
		Pedro de Gante by Rodriguez y Arangoti	C409		Commemorative	
	50th Anniversary of the Union of Lawyers					
		Emperor Justinian I	1045	Independent	Commemorative	
	50th Anniversary of Rotary Practice in Mexico					
		Rotary Emblems	C401	Independent	Commemorative	
	74th Assembly of the International Alliance of Tourism					
		Track of Car Tyre	C402	Independent	Commemorative	
	75th of the Veracruz Naval School					
		"Zaragoza" (cadet sail corvette)	1041	Independent	Commemorative	
	Year of Tourism of the Americas					
		Footprints on the Americas	C413	Independent	Commemorative	
	International Book Year 1972					
		Books on Shelves	1048	Independent	Commemorative	
	Art and Science of Mexico					
		Enrique González Martínez	C400	Independent	Commemorative	
		José Joaquín Fernández de Lizardi	C398	Colonial	Commemorative	
		Juan Ruiz de Alarcón	C397	Colonial	Commemorative	


Appendix IV. List of Stamps

Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Nezahualcōyotl	C396	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
		Ramón López de Velarde	C399	Independent	Commemorative	
	Campaign Against Environmental Pollution, Pure Water, Healthy Life					
		Common Snook (Pure Water)	1049	Independent	Commemorative	
		Pigeon on Cornice (Pure Air)	C412	Independent	Commemorative	
	Centenary of Chilpancingo as State Capital of Guerrero					
		Olive Tree and Branch	1042	Independent	Commemorative	
	Centenary of the Death of Benito Juárez (1806-1872)					
		Benito Juárez by Diego Rivera	1044	Independent	Commemorative	
		Benito Juárez by José Clemente Orozco	C405	Independent	Commemorative	
		Benito Juárez by Pelegrín Clavé	C404	Independent	Commemorative	
		Margarita Maza de Juárez by Unknown artist	1043	Independent	Commemorative	
		Page of Civil Register with Juárez Signature	C403	Independent	Commemorative	
	National Council for Science and Technology (CONACyT)					
		Scientific Symbols	C394	Independent	Commemorative	
	Day of the Postage Stamp of the Americas					
		Caravel on Stamp	1046	Independent	Commemorative	
	On Heart Beats the Health. Institute of Cardiology, World Health Day					




Appendix IV. List of Stamps

Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Emblem of Mexican Cardiology Institute	1038	Independent	Commemorative	
		Willem Einthoven y Frank Wilson	C395	Independent	Commemorative	
	LV International Convention of Lions Club					
		Emblem of Lions Organization	1040	Independent	Commemorative	
	XVI General Conference of International Department of Atomic Energy					
		Atomic Emblem	C406	Independent	Commemorative	
	XX Olympic Games of Munich					
		Football	C411	Independent	Commemorative	
		Olympics Emblems	1047	Independent	Commemorative	
		Olympics Emblems	C410	Independent	Commemorative	
	XXVIII International Congress of Authors and Compositors					
		"Sobre las Olas" Sheet Music Cover	C407	Independent	Commemorative	
1973						
	150 Years of the Heroic Military College					
		Cadet	1051	Independent	Commemorative	
	25th Anniversary of Superior School of Chemical Engineering and Extractive Industries					
		Molecules	1056	Independent	Commemorative	
	50th Anniversary of the Agriculture Superior School "Antonio Narro"					
		Antonio Narro	1053	Independent	Commemorative	
	500 Years of the Birth of Nicholas Copernicus, Polish Astronomer (1473-1543)					
		Nicholas Copernicus	C416		Commemorative	
	Architecture and Archaeology					
		Mexico City University Stadium	C288	Independent	Definitive	


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Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
	Art and Science of Mexico					
		Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora	C418	Colonial	Commemorative	
		Francisco Díaz Covarrubias	C419	Independent	Commemorative	
		Joaquín Gallo	C420	Independent	Commemorative	
		Luis Enrique Erro	C421	Independent	Commemorative	
		Stone of the Sun	C417	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
	Centenary of the World Meteorological Organization					
		God of the Winds	C415	Independent	Commemorative	
	Centenary of Mexican Railway					
		Metlac Viaduct by J.M. Velasco	1050	Independent	Commemorative	
	One Hundred Years of the Birth of Francisco I. Madero					
		Francisco I. Madero	1052	Independent	Commemorative	
	Fourth Inter-American Philatelic exhibition "EXFILBRA 72"					
		Stamps of Mexico, Colombia, Venezuela, Peru and Brazil	C414	Independent	Commemorative	
	Tourist Mexico					
		Baja California: Sport Fishing Lower California	C358	Independent	Commemorative	

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Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Oaxaca: Dancer with fruit basket	C357	Independent	Commemorative	
		Sonora: Deer's Dance	1013	Independent	Commemorative	
		Tlaxcala: Ocotlan Abbey	1014	Independent	Commemorative	
	Monument to General José de San Martín. Donation of Argentina to México					
		San Martín Statue	C423	Independent	Commemorative	
1974						
	100 years in 1973 of the Birth of writer Mariano Azuela (1873-1952)					
		Mariano Azuela	1061	Independent	Commemorative	
	150 Anniversary of the Federalization of Chiapas					
		Mayan Head and Map	1067	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	

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Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
	150 Year of the Establishment of the Federal Republic. Manuscript of the National Act of 1824 -					
		Manuscript of Constitution	1068	Independent	Commemorative	
	25th Anniversary of the Economic Commission for Latin-America CEPAL					
		CEPAL Emblem and Flags	C427	Independent	Commemorative	
	25th Anniversary, in 1973, of the World Health Organization - Dr. Rodolfo Robles					
		Rodolfo Robles	1064	Independent	Commemorative	
	50th Anniversary of the Mexican Aviation Company					
		Biplane	C430	Independent	Commemorative	
		Jet Plane	C431	Independent	Commemorative	
	50 Years of the Mexican Baseball League					
		Mask, Bat and Catcher's Glove	C436	Independent	Commemorative	
	Art and Science of Mexico					
		Angela Peralta, Mexican Singer (1845-1883)	C443	Independent	Commemorative	
		First Mexican-printed score	C440	Colonial	Commemorative	
		Maya Mural of Bonampak	C439	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
		Miguel Lerdo de Tejada	C441	Independent	Commemorative	
		Silvestre Revueltas	C442	Independent	Commemorative	
	Centenary of the Restoration of the Senate, Sebastián Lerdo de Tejada					
		Sebastián Lerdo de Tejada	1069	Independent	Commemorative	

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Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
	Centenary of the Universal Postal Union					
		Heinrich Von Stephan	C515	Independent	Commemorative	
		Man's Face as Letter Box	C437	Colonial	Commemorative	
		U.P.U. Monument	1070	Independent	Commemorative	
	Convention of the Confederation of Tourist Organizations of Latin America					
		Baggage	C426	Independent	Commemorative	
	National Engineer's Day, 1st July					
		Tepozotlan Viaduct	1063	Independent	Commemorative	
	"EXFILMEX 74" V Inter-American Philatelic Exhibition in Honour to the Centenary of the UPU					
		U.P.U Emblem	C429	Independent	Commemorative	
		U.P.U. Emblem	1065	Independent	Commemorative	
	National Philatelic Exhibition "EXMEX 73"					
		Emblem	1058	Independent	Commemorative	
		Palacio de Cortés en Cuernavaca, Morelos	C424	Colonial	Commemorative	
	Gold from Peru, Exhibition					
		Gold Brooch	C425	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
	Felipe Carrillo Puerto, Journalist and Politician, Centenary of his Birth (1874-1924)					
		Felipe Carrillo Puerto	C435	Independent	Commemorative	
	Philately for the Peace, "EXFILMEX 74", U.P.U., VI Inter-American Philatelic Exhibition					

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Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Stamps of Mexico, Colombia, Venezuela, Peru, Brazil, Mexico	C434	Independent	Commemorative	
	II Hispano-American Congress of Difficulties in the Learning of reading and Writing, Demosthenes (7-14 May)					
		Demosthenes	1066		Commemorative	
	Manuel M. Ponce, 25 Anniversary of His death in 1973 (1882-1948), Composer					
		Manuel M. Ponce	1059	Independent	Commemorative	
	Pablo Ruiz Picasso (1881-1973). Painter, Engraver, Sculptor					
		The Enamelled Saucepan by Picasso	C428	Independent	Commemorative	
	First International Congress of Electric and Electronic Communications					
		Sonar Waves	C432	Independent	Commemorative	
	First Silver World Fair					
		Silver Statuette	1060	Independent	Commemorative	
	You Can Export ANIERM					
		Fist with Pointing Finger	1057	Independent	Commemorative	
	VI Circuit of Canine Exhibitions					
		Pre-Hispanic dancing dogs	1062	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
	VIII World Volleyball Championships					
		Ball in Play	C433	Independent	Commemorative	


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Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
1975						
	150 Years of the Foundation of the State of Mexico. José María Mora					
		Jose María Mora	1084	Independent	Commemorative	
	150 Years of the Supreme Court of Justice					
		Mural Painting	1142	Independent	Commemorative	
	3rd Cervantino International Festival					
		Miguel de Cervantes	C460		Commemorative	
	400 Anniversary of Aguascalientes Foundation					
		Aguascalientes Cathedral	1140	Colonial	Commemorative	
	450 Anniversary of the death of Cuauhtémoc, Last Aztec Emperor (1502-1525)					
		Death of Cuauhtémoc	1143	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
	50 Anniversary of the Guadalajara University Foundation					
		University Building	1107	Independent	Commemorative	
	50 Years Building Highways for the Progress of Mexico					
		Globe and Traffic Circle	1108	Independent	Commemorative	
	650 Anniversary of the Foundation of Tenochtitlán, Today Mexico City					


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Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		City Coat of Arms	C465	Independent	Commemorative	
		Eagle and Snake. Myth of Foundation	1087	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
	Women International Day					
		I.W.Y. Emblem	C456	Independent	Commemorative	
	Architecture and Archaeology					
		Danza de la Pluma	C448	Independent	Definitive	
		Guerrero View of Taxco	C449	Colonial	Definitive	
		Guerrero Acapulco, Water front	C447	Independent	Definitive	
		León Guzmán and Ignacio Ramirez	C445	Independent	Definitive	
		Mayan Bas-relief profile	C446	Pre-Hispanic	Definitive	
		Michoacan Masks	C450	Independent	Definitive	
		Tamuin Adolescent	C444	Pre-Hispanic	Definitive	
		Valentin Gómez Farias and Melchor Ocampo	C451	Independent	Definitive	
	Art and Science of Mexico					
		Alfonso L. Herrera	C514	Independent	Commemorative	
		Alfredo Augusto Duges	C517	Independent	Commemorative	
		Arturo Rosenblueth Stearns	C516	Independent	Commemorative	



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Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Aztec Herbal	C515	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
		Medical History of New Spain	C513	Colonial	Commemorative	
	Bi-Centenary of the Birth of Insurgent Juan Aldama					
		Juan Aldama	1086	Independent	Commemorative	
	Chart of Rights and Economic Duties of The States					
		Economic Charter	C457	Independent	Commemorative	
	Centenary of the Foundation of Mexican Academy of Language					
		Academy Emblem	1089	Independent	Commemorative	
	Centenary in 1974 of the Trade National Chamber of Mexico City					
		Aztec Merchants with Goods	1085	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
	World Conference of the Women International Year					
		U.N. and I.W.Y. Emblems	C464	Independent	Commemorative	
	International Numismatic Conference and 300 years of the First coin minted in Mexico					
		Four-reales Coin	C461	Colonial	Commemorative	
	David Alfaro Siqueiros 1896-1974. Pinter					
		David Alfaro Siqueiros	C463	Independent	Commemorative	
	Dr. Atl, Gerardo Murillo, Centenary of His Birth. Landscape Pinter					
		Dr. Atl	C469	Independent	Commemorative	
	"Acali" Raft Expedition					
		"Acali" Raft	C458	Independent	Commemorative	


Appendix IV. List of Stamps

Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
	Jaime Torres Bodet 1902-1974, Writer and General Director of UNESCO 1958-1962					
		Jaime Torres Bodet	1141	Independent	Commemorative	
	Julián Carrillo, Centenary of His Birth, Composer and Violinist					
		Julián Carrillo	1088	Independent	Commemorative	
	Mexico Exports					
		Men's Shoes	1118	Independent	Definitive	
		Oil Valves	C491	Independent	Definitive	
		Oil Valves	C492	Independent	Definitive	
		Strawberry	C496	Independent	Definitive	
	First International Congress of Developing Countries Teachers, Domingo F. Sarmiento					
		Domingo Sarmiento	C466	Independent	Commemorative	
	First Monument to the Teacher					
		Cadmus teaching the alphabet	C467		Commemorative	
	Salvador Novo 1904-1974. Writer, Historian and Poet					
		Salvador Novo	C462	Independent	Commemorative	
	V World Congress of Gastroenterology					
		Miguel Jimenez	C459	Independent	Commemorative	
	VII Pan-American Sport Games					
		Games Emblem	C468	Independent	Commemorative	
	XV Highway World Congress					

Appendix IV. List of Stamps

Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Road Builders	C470	Independent	Commemorative	
1976						
	40th Anniversary of the Polytechnic National Institute					
		"40" and Emblem	1152	Independent	Commemorative	
	400 Anniversary of Leon, Guanajuato Foundation					
		Arch	1145	Colonial	Commemorative	
	50 Anniversary of the Irrigation Commission					
		Allegory of Irrigation	1144	Independent	Commemorative	
	50 Anniversary of the Recognition of Mexican Scout Association					
		Scout's Hat	1147	Independent	Commemorative	
	Art and Science of Mexico					
		"El Caballito" statue of Charles IV of Spain	C528	Independent	Commemorative	
		Coatlicue	C527	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
		Signal	C531	Independent	Commemorative	


Appendix IV. List of Stamps

Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Tlahuicole	C529	Independent	Commemorative	
		Today's God, Money	C530	Independent	Commemorative	
	Bi-Centenary of USA Independence					
		Liberty Bell	C523	Independent	Commemorative	
	Centenary of the Invention of Telephone					
		Early Telephone	C518	Independent	Commemorative	
	Centenary of La Luz, Ophthalmological Hospital					
		Ricardo Vertiz	1150	Independent	Commemorative	
	Centenary of the Birth of Pablo Casals					
		Score of El Pesebre	C532	Independent	Commemorative	
	UN Conference on Humans Settlements					
		Rainbow over City	C522	Independent	Commemorative	
	Urbanism World Day					
		Natural Elements	C526	Independent	Commemorative	
	Fire Prevention					
		Forest Fire	1146	Independent	Commemorative	
	International Philatelic Exhibition "INTERPHIL 76"					
		Perforation Gauge	C521	Independent	Commemorative	
	Exhibition Mexico Today and Tomorrow					
		Exhibition Emblem	1148	Independent	Commemorative	
	Inauguration of the New Basilica of Guadalupe					
		National Basilica of Guadalupe	1151	Independent	Commemorative	




Appendix IV. List of Stamps

Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
	Inauguration of the Iron and Steel Plant, Lázaro Cárdenas-Las Truchas					
		Blast Furnace	1153	Independent	Commemorative	
	IV International Numismatic Convention					
		60-peso Gold Coin	C519	Independent	Commemorative	
	Mexico Exports					
		Books	C493	Independent	Definitive	
		Chemistry Flasks	1110	Independent	Definitive	
		Copper Vase	C486	Independent	Definitive	
		Cotton	C499	Independent	Definitive	
		Cup of Coffee	1111	Independent	Definitive	
		Farm Machinery	C498	Independent	Definitive	
		Meat Cuts Marked on Steer	1113	Independent	Definitive	
		Motor Vehicles	C497	Independent	Definitive	
		Overalls	C489	Independent	Definitive	
	New Buildings of the Heroic Military College					
		New Building	1149	Independent	Commemorative	
	First Latin American Forum of TV for Children					
		Children on TV screen	C525	Independent	Commemorative	
	XII International Congress of large Reservoirs					
		Rain God Tláloc and Calles Dam	C520	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
	XXX International Congress of Humans Sciences at Asia and North Africa					
		Peace Texts	C524	Independent	Commemorative	
1977						
	10th Anniversary of Tlatelolco Treaty against					




Appendix IV. List of Stamps

Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
	Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America					
		Mankind destroyed by Nuclear Power	C533a	Independent	Commemorative	
		Mankind destroyed by Nuclear Power	C533	Independent	Commemorative	
	150 Anniversary of the Decease of Beethoven					
		Ludwig Van Beethoven	C541	Independent	Commemorative	
		Ludwig Van Beethoven	C542	Independent	Commemorative	
	200 Anniversary of the Status of City of Campeche					
		Arms of Campeche	C545	Colonial	Commemorative	
	25 Anniversary of the First National Highway Mexico-Cuernavaca					
		Highway	C544	Independent	Commemorative	
	40 Years Promoting the Mexican development. Federal Commission of Electricity					
		Light Switch, Pylon and Engineers	1155	Independent	Commemorative	
	400 Anniversary of the Foundation of Saltillo, Coahuila					
		Saltillo Cathedral	1154	Colonial	Commemorative	
	50 Anniversary of the Mexican Federation of Football					
		Football Emblem	C535	Independent	Commemorative	
		Footballers	C534	Independent	Commemorative	
	50 Anniversary of the federal Board of Conciliation and Arbitration					
		Hands and Scales	C536	Independent	Commemorative	
	60 Anniversary of the National Merchant Navy					

Appendix IV. List of Stamps

Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Freighter "Rio Yaqui"	C547	Independent	Commemorative	
	Art and Science of Mexico					
		Aztec God of the Dance	C549	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
		Culebra Dance	C550	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
		Mayan Dancer of Jaina	C548	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	

Appendix IV. List of Stamps

Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Monte Albán Dancer	C551	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
		Totonaca Dancer	C552	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
	Centenary of Aquiles Serdán Birth					
		Aquiles Serdán	1158	Independent	Commemorative	
	Centenary of the Central Meteorological Observatory					
		Tláloc	C540	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
	Conference of the UN on Desertification					
		Tractor and Dam	C543	Independent	Commemorative	
	Mexico Exports					



Appendix IV. List of Stamps

Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Steel Pipes	1109	Independent	Definitive	
	Christmas 1977					
		Poinsettia	1159	Independent	Commemorative	
	Resumption of Diplomatic Relations with Spain					
		Mexico-Spain Flags	1156	Independent	Commemorative	
		Mexico-Spain Flags	1157	Independent	Commemorative	
		Mexico-Spain National Coat of Arms	C537	Independent	Commemorative	
		Mexico-Spain National Coat of Arms	C538	Independent	Commemorative	
		Mexico-Spain National Coat of Arms	C539	Independent	Commemorative	
	XX World Congress of Sport Education, Hygiene and Recreation					
		Congress Emblem	C546	Independent	Commemorative	
1978						
	150 Anniversary of the death of Franz Schubert (1797-1828)					
		Franz Schubert	C587	Independent	Commemorative	
	2300 Years of Aristotle death					
		Aristotle	C579		Commemorative	
		Aristotle	C580		Commemorative	
	40 Anniversary of the Expropriation of the Oil Industry					
		Lázaro Cárdenas	C556	Independent	Commemorative	
		Oil Derrick	1161	Independent	Commemorative	
		Oil Rig	C557	Independent	Commemorative	
	450 Anniversary of the Foundation of the City Chiapa de Corzo, Chiapas					
		Moorish Fountain	C555	Colonial	Commemorative	
	450 Anniversary of the Foundation of the City San Cristóbal de las Casas, Chiapas					

Appendix IV. List of Stamps

Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Arms of San Cristobal de las Casas	C558	Colonial	Commemorative	
	50 Anniversary of the Foundation of the Ciudad Obregón, Sonora					
		Sun Rising Over Ciudad Obregón	C576	Independent	Commemorative	
	50 Anniversary of the death of Alvaro Obregón, General and ex president					
		Alvaro Obregón	C573	Independent	Commemorative	
	50 Anniversary of the First Mexican Postal Air Rout Mexico-Tuxpan-Tampico					
		Plane	C561	Independent	Commemorative	
		Plane	C562	Independent	Commemorative	
	50 Anniversary of the Pan-American Institute of Geography and History					
		Institute Emblem	1162	Independent	Commemorative	
		Institute Emblem	C574	Independent	Commemorative	
		Institute Emblem	C575	Independent	Commemorative	
	50 Anniversary of the flight Mexico-Washington of Emilio Carranza					
		Emilio Carranza Stamp of 1929	C569	Independent	Commemorative	
	75 Anniversary of the first flight of Wright Brothers					
		Wright Flier I	C591	Independent	Commemorative	
		Wright Flier III	C590	Independent	Commemorative	
	Vivaldi's Year. III Centenary of his Birth (in 1975)					
		Antonio Vivaldi	C589	Independent	Commemorative	
	Centenary of the First Telephone Communication in Mexico,					
		Telephones 1878 and 1978	1160	Independent	Commemorative	
	Centenary of the Birth of Francisco Villa (Doroteo Arango) 1878-1923					
		Francisco Villa	C568	Independent	Commemorative	


Appendix IV. List of Stamps

Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
	Miss Universe Contest, Acapulco 1978					
		Stone of the Sun with Woman	C570	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
		Stone of the Sun with Woman	C571	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
		Stone of the Sun with Woman	C572	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
	World Conference on Technical Cooperation among countries in Development					
		Globe and Cogwheel joined by flags	C564	Independent	Commemorative	
		Globe, Cogwheel, UN Emblem	C563	Independent	Commemorative	
	World Health Day, 1978					
		Globe, Snake, Hand holding Stethoscope	C560	Independent	Commemorative	
	Fauna of Mexico					
		Ocelote	C582	Independent	Commemorative	
		Venado Bura	C581	Independent	Commemorative	
	Flora of Mexico					
		Cacalósúchil (Plumeria Rubra)	1164	Independent	Commemorative	




Appendix IV. List of Stamps

Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Cocoxóchitl (Dalia Coccinea)	1163	Independent	Commemorative	
	Fight Against Racial Segregation					
		Man's Head, Dove and UN Emblem	C583	Independent	Commemorative	
		Man's Head, Dove and UN Emblem	C584	Independent	Commemorative	
	World Month of the Fight against Arterial Hypertension					
		Blood Pressure Gauge and Map of Mexico	C559	Independent	Commemorative	
	Mexico Exports					
		Electrical Conductor	1114	Independent	Definitive	
		Minerals	1120	Independent	Definitive	
		Tequila	1125	Independent	Definitive	
		Wrought Iron	1127	Independent	Definitive	
	Christmas 1978					
		Decorations and Candles	1165	Independent	Commemorative	
		Decorations and Candles	C588	Independent	Commemorative	
	First World Youth Chess Championship, by teams					
		Toltec Giant and Pawn	C577	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
		Toltec Sculpture and Pawn	C578	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
	XI FIFA's Football Soccer World Championship, Argentina 1978					
		Football Players	C565	Independent	Commemorative	

Appendix IV. List of Stamps

Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Goalkeeper catching ball	C566	Independent	Commemorative	
		Soccer Player	C567	Independent	Commemorative	
	XI International Leprosy Congress					
		Rafael Lucio	C586	Independent	Commemorative	
	XIII International Congress of Architects					
		Emblem	C585	Independent	Commemorative	
	XXXV Anniversary of the Mexican Social Security Institute					
		La Raza, Medical Center	C554	Independent	Commemorative	
		Tumour Clinic	C553	Independent	Commemorative	
1979						
	150 Anniversary of the death of Doña Josefa Ortiz de Domínguez					
		Josefa Ortiz de Domínguez	1182	Independent	Commemorative	
	50 Anniversary of the University's Autonomy					
		Allegory of National Culture	1183	Independent	Commemorative	
		Conquest of Energy	1184	Independent	Commemorative	
		Students Reaching for Culture	C610	Independent	Commemorative	



Appendix IV. List of Stamps

Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		The Return of Quetzalcoatl	C609	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
	Children International Year, UN, UNICEF					
		Child's drawing	C604	Independent	Commemorative	
	Centenary of the city of Hermosillo as Capital of the State of Sonora					
		Arms of Hermosillo	1177	Independent	Commemorative	
	Centenary of the invention of the electric light bulb					
		Early Lamp	C621	Independent	Commemorative	
	Centenary of the death of Rowland Hill					
		Rowland Hill	C593	Independent	Commemorative	
	Centenary of the Mexico Entry to the Universal Postal Union					
		Pre-Hispanic Messenger	C611	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
	Centenary of the Birth of Albert Einstein					



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Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Albert Einstein and Equation	C592	Independent	Commemorative	
	Centenary of the Birth of Emiliano Zapata					
		Emiliano Zapata	1185	Independent	Commemorative	
	Fourth Centenary of the New Spain Mail, 1579					
		King Philip II	C619		Commemorative	
		Martín Enríquez de Almanza	C618	Colonial	Commemorative	
		Martin Olivares	1192	Colonial	Commemorative	
		Spanish Galleon	C620 HR	Colonial	Commemorative	
	Mexico Exports					
		Abalone	1170	Independent	Definitive	
		Bicycle	C596	Independent	Definitive	
		Circuit Board	C594	Independent	Definitive	
		Cotton Thread	C603	Independent	Definitive	
		Electrical Conductor	1169	Independent	Definitive	
		Jewelry	1176	Independent	Definitive	
		Meat Cuts Marked on Steer	1168	Independent	Definitive	
		Men's Shoes	1171	Independent	Definitive	
		Minerals	1173	Independent	Definitive	
		Motor Vehicles	C601	Independent	Definitive	
		Steel Pipes	1167	Independent	Definitive	
		Tequila	1174	Independent	Definitive	
		Tomato	C599	Independent	Definitive	
		Wrought Iron	1175	Independent	Definitive	
	Tourist Mexico					
		Agua Azul Waterfall, Chiapas	C615	Independent	Commemorative	



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Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		King Coliman Statue, Colima	C616	Colonial	Commemorative	
		Mexcaltitán, Nayarit	1191	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
		Tepoztlan, Morelos	1190	Colonial	Commemorative	
	Mexico, Venue for Student Games, 1979					
		Football	1178	Independent	Commemorative	
		Gimnastas	C608 HR	Independent	Commemorative	
		Maceta con tres balones	C606	Independent	Commemorative	
		Man's Race	1181 HR	Independent	Commemorative	
		Pebetero y Palomas	C607	Independent	Commemorative	


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Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Image from Codex	1180	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
		Teotihuacan, Ballcourt, Player	1179	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
	Christmas Motifs					
		Christmas Tree	1193	Independent	Commemorative	
		Shepherd and sheep	C623	Independent	Commemorative	
	Annual Meeting of the Elmhurst Philatelic Society					
		Registered Letter From Mexico to Rome, 1880	C605	Independent	Commemorative	
	Student Games '79 Mexico					
		All Sports	C614 HR	Independent	Commemorative	
		Basketball	1188	Independent	Commemorative	
		Fencing	1189 HR	Independent	Commemorative	
		Football	1186	Independent	Commemorative	
		Swimming	C613	Independent	Commemorative	
		Tennis	C612	Independent	Commemorative	



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Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Volleyball	1187	Independent	Commemorative	
	VIII General Assembly of the Union of Latin American Universities					
		Assembly Emblem	C622	Independent	Commemorative	
	X Anniversary of the Arrival of Man to the Moon					
		Moon Symbol from Mexican Codex	C624	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
	XI Congress and Assembly of the International Council of societies of Industrial design					
		Emblem	C617	Independent	Commemorative	
1980						
	150 Anniversary of the State of Sinaloa					
		Arms of Sinaloa	1216	Independent	Commemorative	
	150 Anniversary of the Decease of Simón Bolívar					
		Simón Bolívar	1223	Independent	Commemorative	
	75 Anniversary of Decease of Jules Verne (1828-1905)					
		Jules Verne	C634	Independent	Commemorative	
	Art and Science of Mexico					
		Acolman, Estado de México	C627	Colonial	Commemorative	
		Actopan Convent, Hidalgo	C628	Colonial	Commemorative	




Appendix IV. List of Stamps

Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Tlayacapan, Morelos	C629	Colonial	Commemorative	
		Yanhuitlán, Oaxaca	C631	Colonial	Commemorative	
		Yuriria, Guanajuato	C630	Colonial	Commemorative	
	Mexican Craftsmanship					
		Glass Demijhon and Animals	1220	Independent	Commemorative	
		Poncho	1221	Independent	Commemorative	
		Wooden Mask	1222	Independent	Commemorative	
	World Tourism Conference					
		Pre-Hispanic Emblem	1215	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
	World Day Health, Tobacco or Health, you choose					
		Skeleton Smoking and UN Emblem	C635	Independent	Commemorative	
	Fauna of Mexico					
		Common Turkey	1195	Independent	Commemorative	
		Flamingo	C632	Independent	Commemorative	
	Flora of Mexico					
		Cempaxúchil	1196	Independent	Commemorative	
		Vanilla Plant	C633	Independent	Commemorative	
	IV International Congress Registration Law					
		Congress Emblem	1219	Independent	Commemorative	
	XXII Olympic Games of Moscow 1980					
		Bronze Medal	1205	Independent	Commemorative	
		Gold Medal	1207	Independent	Commemorative	




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Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Silver Medal	1206	Independent	Commemorative	
	Mexico Exports					
		Jewellery	1132	Independent	Definitive	
		Tiles	1172	Independent	Definitive	
		Tiles	1119	Independent	Definitive	
	Colonial Monuments					
		Basilica Cuilapan	1213	Colonial	Commemorative	
		Calvary Hermitage	1214	Colonial	Commemorative	
		Sacromonte Sanctuary	1211	Colonial	Commemorative	
		St. Catherine's Convent, Patzcuaro	1212	Colonial	Commemorative	
	Pre-Hispanic Monuments					
		Ceremonial Vessel	1208	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
		Chac-Mool	1210	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	



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Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Coyolxauqui	C626	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
		Feathered Serpent Head	1194	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
		Stone Nail	1209	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	

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Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Tlálloc	C625	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
	Christmas Motifs					
		Poinsettias in a jug	1218	Independent	Commemorative	
		Straw Angel	1217	Independent	Commemorative	
	Pre-Hispanic Personages of Mexico					
		Cuauhtémoc	1201	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
		Eight Deer Tiger's Claw	1203	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	

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Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Nezahualcóyotl	1202	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
	Typical National Costumes					
		Chiapaneca	C636	Independent	Commemorative	
		China Poblana	1197	Independent	Commemorative	
		Jarocho	1198	Independent	Commemorative	
	X General Census of Population and Housing 1980					
		Family	1200	Independent	Commemorative	
	XXII World Biennial Congress of the Surgeons International College					
		Xipe	1204	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
1981						
	125 Anniversary of the first Mexican Postage Stamp					
		Mexican Stamp of 1859 and Postal Service Emblem	1242	Independent	Commemorative	
	125 Anniversary of the first Mexican Postage Stamp (with water mark)					
		Mexican Stamp of 1859 and	1242a	Independent	Commemorative	



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Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Postal Service Emblem				
	1300 Anniversary of the Foundation of The State of Bulgaria					
		Desislava	1245		Commemorative	
		Horse-headed cup from Thrace	1246		Commemorative	
		Madara Horseman	1247		Commemorative	
	150 Anniversary of the Death of Vicente Guerrero					
		Vicente Guerrero	1224	Independent	Commemorative	
	175 Anniversary of the Birth of Benito Juárez					
		Benito Juárez	1229	Independent	Commemorative	
	250 Anniversary of the Birth of Francisco Javier Clavijero					
		Francisco Javier Clavijero	1243	Colonial	Commemorative	
	450 Anniversary of the Foundation of the City of Puebla					
		Foundation Monument	1230	Colonial	Commemorative	
	450 Anniversary of the Foundation of the Ciudad de Puebla (without water mark)					
		Foundation Monument	1230a	Colonial	Commemorative	
	450 Anniversary of the Foundation of the City of Querétaro					
		Arms of Queretaro	1240	Colonial	Commemorative	
	450 Anniversary of the Foundation of the City of Querétaro (without water mark)					
		Arms of Queretaro	1240a	Colonial	Commemorative	
	50 Anniversary of the Death of Thomas Alva Edison					
		Thomas Edison	1255	Independent	Commemorative	
	50 Anniversary of the Mexican sound cinema					
		Film Frame	1258	Independent	Commemorative	
	75 Anniversary of the martyrs of Cananea					
		Worker's Strike	1238	Independent	Commemorative	



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Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
	International year of disabled persons					
		Toy Drummer with one Arm	1239	Independent	Commemorative	
	Bi-centenary of the birth of Valentín Gómez Farías					
		Valentín Gómez Farías	1225	Independent	Commemorative	
	Centenary of the Death of Medical Doctor Gabino Barreda					
		Gabino Barreda	1228	Independent	Commemorative	
	Centenary of the Decease of Jesús González Ortega					
		Jesús González Ortega	1227	Independent	Commemorative	
	Centenary of the Birth of Alejandro Fleming					
		Alexander Fleming	1241	Independent	Commemorative	
	Centenary of the Birth of Pablo Picasso 1881-1973					
		Pablo Ruiz Picasso	1251	Independent	Commemorative	
	World Food Day. Mexican Alimentary System					
		Wheat sheaf	1254	Independent	Commemorative	
	Fauna of Mexico					
		Cenzontle	1234	Independent	Commemorative	
		Mexican Trogon	1236	Independent	Commemorative	
	Flora of Mexico					
		Avocado	1235	Independent	Commemorative	
		Cacao	1237	Independent	Commemorative	
	Implementation of Zip Code					
		Inauguration of Zip Codes	1259	Independent	Commemorative	
	Mexico Exports					
		Abalone	1117	Independent	Definitive	
		Chemistry Flasks	1166	Independent	Definitive	
		Circuit Board	1112	Independent	Definitive	
		Citrus Fruit	C602	Independent	Definitive	
		Film	C503	Independent	Definitive	
		Honey	C600	Independent	Definitive	

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Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Oil Valves	C597	Independent	Definitive	
	Colonial Monuments					
		Friar Tembeleque Aqueduct	1263	Colonial	Commemorative	
		La Merced Order Convent	1261	Colonial	Commemorative	
		Mascarones House	1260	Colonial	Commemorative	
		Third Order Chapel	1262	Colonial	Commemorative	
	Pre-Hispanic Monuments					
		Alabaster Deer's Head	1249	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
		Jade Fish	1250	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	


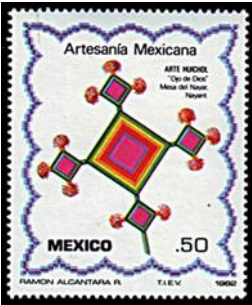
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Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Xiuhtecutili	1248	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
	Christmas Motifs					
		Girl	1253	Independent	Commemorative	
		Shepherd	1252	Independent	Commemorative	
	Headquarters of the Congress of the Union, Inauguration					
		National Coat of Arms and Building	1244	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
	International Meeting on Cooperation and Development					
		Emblem and Wheat	1256	Independent	Commemorative	
	Latin American table tennis tournament - Best 16 in Latin America					
		Table Tennis Balls in Flight	1226	Independent	Commemorative	
	National Typical Customs					
		Charra, Jalisco	1232	Independent	Commemorative	
		Mestiza, Yucatán	1233	Independent	Commemorative	
		Purepecha, Michoacán	1231	Independent	Commemorative	
	XV Pan-American Congress of Railways					


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Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Globe and Diesel Locomotive	1257	Independent	Commemorative	
	XV Pan-American Congress of Railways (with national Flag)					
		Globe, Diesel Locomotive and National Flag	1257a	Independent	Commemorative	
1982						
	150 Anniversary of the Death of Ignacio López Rayón					
		Ignacio López Rayón	1265	Independent	Commemorative	
	450 Anniversary of the elevation of Oaxaca to the rank of city					
		Arms of Oaxaca	1273	Colonial	Commemorative	
	75 Anniversary of the Inauguration of the Postal Palace Headquarters					
		Postal Headquarters	1266	Independent	Commemorative	
	75 Anniversary of the martyrs of Río Blanco					
		Martyrs of Río Blanco	1264	Independent	Commemorative	
	Alfonso García Robles, Nobel Peace Prize 1982					
		Alfonso García Robles	1307	Independent	Commemorative	
		Alfonso García Robles and Medal	1308	Independent	Commemorative	
	General Archive of the Nation, inauguration of the new building (August 27)					
		National Archives Opening	1298	Independent	Commemorative	
	Art and Science of Mexico					
		Angel María Garibay	1295	Independent	Commemorative	
		Guillermo González Camarena	1297	Independent	Commemorative	
		Isaac Ochoterena	1294	Independent	Commemorative	


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Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Manuel Gamio	1293	Independent	Commemorative	
		Manuel Sandoval Vallarta	1296	Independent	Commemorative	
	Mexican Craftsmanship					
		Ceramic Snail	1268	Independent	Commemorative	
		Huichol Art	1267	Independent	Commemorative	
		Wooden Tiger Mask	1269	Independent	Commemorative	
	Bi-Centenary of the Birth of Vicente Guerrero					
		Vicente Guerrero	1283	Independent	Commemorative	
	Centenary of the Birth of José Vasconcelos					
		José Vasconcelos	1309	Independent	Commemorative	
	Fiftieth Anniversary of the Foundation of the Superior School of War					
		Military Academy Building	1272	Independent	Commemorative	
	Mexican Indigenous Codex					



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Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Astrologer	1290	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
		First day at School	1291	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
		Musicians	1292	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
	Zip Code Campaign					
		Use Zip Codes Campaign	1270	Independent	Commemorative	
	World Health Day. Centenary of the discovery of the bacillus of Tuberculosis					
		Roberto Koch	1271	Independent	Commemorative	
	Fauna of Mexico					



Appendix IV. List of Stamps

Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Grey Whales	1282	Independent	Commemorative	
		Hawksbill Turtles	1281	Independent	Commemorative	
	Flora of Mexico					
		Corn	1289	Independent	Commemorative	
		Papayo	1288	Independent	Commemorative	
	Inauguration of the Museum of the Revolution, Chihuahua.					
		Reproduction of centennial of the stamp "México Revolucionario", issued in 1956.	1302	Independent	Commemorative	
	Mexico Exports					
		Cotton Thread	C508	Independent	Definitive	
		Honey	C495	Independent	Definitive	
	Tourist Mexico					
		Basaseachic Cascade, Chihuahua	1274	Independent	Commemorative	
		Maya City of Edzná, Campeche	1276	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	

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Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Olmec Stele	1277	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
		Silence Zone, Durango	1275	Independent	Commemorative	
	Colonial Monuments					
		Open Chapel of Tlalmanalco, State of Mexico	1305	Colonial	Commemorative	
		Colegio de San Pedro y San Pablo, Ciudad de México	1303	Colonial	Commemorative	
		Convento de Actopan, Edo. de Hidalgo	1306	Colonial	Commemorative	
		Convento de Jesús María. Ciudad de México	1304	Colonial	Commemorative	
	Christmas Motifs					
		Dove and Peace Text	1299	Independent	Commemorative	
		Dove and Peace Texts Different Languages	1300	Independent	Commemorative	
	Pre-Hispanic Personages of Mexico					
		Acamapichtli	1286	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	

Appendix IV. List of Stamps

Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Tariácuri	1285	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
		Venado Pechera de Tigre	1287	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
	Second UN Conference in Vienna, Austria on exploration and peaceful uses of outer space					
		Symbols of Pace and Communication	1284	Independent	Commemorative	
	Mexican Alimentary System (S.A.M.)					
		Pair of hands offering food	1301	Independent	Commemorative	
	XII FIFA's World Football Championship. Spain, 1982					
		Footballers Dribbling	1279	Independent	Commemorative	
		Footballers Tackling	1280	Independent	Commemorative	
		Two Footballers	1278	Independent	Commemorative	
1983						
	1983, Constitutional right to health protection					



Appendix IV. List of Stamps

Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Doctor Treating Patient, Mural Painting	1313	Independent	Commemorative	
	25 Anniversary of the Convention of the International Maritime Organization					
		Sheep, map of the world and emblems	1312	Independent	Commemorative	
	World Communications Year					
		Emblems and Means of Communication	1310	Independent	Commemorative	
	Art and Science of Mexico					
		Carlos Bracho	1334	Independent	Commemorative	
		Carlos Chávez	1331	Independent	Commemorative	
		Fanny Anitua	1335	Independent	Commemorative	
		Francisco Goitia	1332	Independent	Commemorative	
		Salvador Díaz Mirón	1333	Independent	Commemorative	
	Bicentenary of the Royal Ordinances of Mining					
		Joaquin Vélazquez de León	1343	Colonial	Commemorative	
	200 anniversary of the birth of the Liberator Simón Bolívar					
		Simon Bolivar	1322	Independent	Commemorative	
	Centenary of the Death of Ángela Peralta					
		Ángela Peralta	1323	Independent	Commemorative	
	Centenary of the Birth of José Clemente Orozco					
		José Clemente Orozco	1336	Independent	Commemorative	
	Centenary of the Birth of Philosopher Antonio Caso					
		Antonio Caso	1342	Independent	Commemorative	
	CL Anniversary of the Foundation of the Mexican Society of geography and Statistic					



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Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Emblem and Gomez Farias	1314	Independent	Commemorative	
	Fauna of Mexico					
		Mariposa llamadora	1327	Independent	Commemorative	
		Mazcuate	1326	Independent	Commemorative	
	Flora of Mexico					
		Chicozapote	1324	Independent	Commemorative	
		Maguey Pulquero	1325	Independent	Commemorative	
	II FIFA's World Youth Championship 1983					
		Football	1316	Independent	Commemorative	
		Football	1317	Independent	Commemorative	
		Football	1315	Independent	Commemorative	
	Mexico Exports					
		Books	1133	Independent	Definitive	
		Citrus Fruit	1135	Independent	Definitive	
		Electrical Conductor	1115	Independent	Definitive	
		Motor Vehicles	1136	Independent	Definitive	
		Steel Pipes	1121c	Independent	Definitive	
		Steel Pipes	1121	Independent	Definitive	
		Strawberry	1134	Independent	Definitive	
	Tourist Mexico					
		Cable Car, Zacatecas	1320	Independent	Commemorative	
		Federal Palace Building, Queretaro	1318	Independent	Commemorative	

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Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Fountain San Luis Potosi	1319	Independent	Commemorative	
		Temple of the Masks at Kohunlich	1321	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
	Colonial Monuments					
		Atlatlahuacan Convent, Morelos	1341	Colonial	Commemorative	
		Convent Garden, Malinalco, Estado de México	1338	Colonial	Commemorative	
		Open Chapel of Cuernavaca Cathedral, Morelos	1339	Colonial	Commemorative	
		Tepejí de Río Convent, Hidalgo	1340	Colonial	Commemorative	
	Christmas Motifs					

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Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Christmas Candles	1329	Independent	Commemorative	
		Christmas Candles	1328	Independent	Commemorative	
	First philatelic exhibition of the Mexican Revolution					
		Reproduction of first philatelic exposition stamp -March 1913-	1311	Independent	Commemorative	
	Integral System of Communications and Transport					
		Ministry of Communications and Transport's emblem	1330	Independent	Commemorative	
	XXXV Anniversary of the Universal Declaration of human rights					
		35th Anniversary of Human Right Declaration	1337	Independent	Commemorative	
1984						
	125 Anniversary of the creation of the Civil Registry					
		National Coat of Arms and book	1375	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
	150o. Anniversary of the Birth of Ignacio Manuel Altamirano					
		Ignacio Manuel Altamirano	1370	Independent	Commemorative	
	275o. Anniversary of the Foundation of the City of Chihuahua					
		Chihuahua Cathedral exterior detail	1365	Colonial	Commemorative	
	50o. Anniversary of the Foundation of Aeroméxico					
		Emblem of Aeromexico. Aztec Caballero Aguila	1363	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	

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Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Red Cactus Sculpture	1362	Independent	Commemorative	
	50o. Anniversary of the Foundation of Fondo de Cultura Económica					
		Emblem of FCE	1360	Independent	Commemorative	
	50th Anniversary of Palace of Fine Arts .					
		Palace of Fine Arts	1364	Independent	Commemorative	
	Global Polio Campaign					
		Children dancing	1345	Independent	Commemorative	
	Centenary of the Foundation of national Bank of Mexico					
		Bank of Mexico building	1349	Independent	Commemorative	
	Centenary of the promulgation of the first Mexican Zip Code					
		Envelopes' composition of 1884 to 1994	1344	Independent	Commemorative	
	Centenary of the Birth of General Francisco J. Múgica Velázquez					
		Francisco J. Múgica Velázquez	1361	Independent	Commemorative	
	International Conference on Population					
		UN emblem on a stylised mexican map	1359	Independent	Commemorative	
	World Canine Exhibition					
		Xoloitzcuintle -Mexican dog-	1348	Independent	Commemorative	
	Fauna of Mexico					
		Black-bellied whistling tree duck -pichichile-	1347	Independent	Commemorative	
		Muscovy duck -Cairina moschata-	1346	Independent	Commemorative	
	Inauguration of Puente Río Coatzacoalcos, Veracruz.					
		Aerial view of Coatzacoalcos Bridge	1366	Independent	Commemorative	
	XXIII Olympic Games, Los Angeles, California, E.U.					


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Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Boxing	1355	Independent	Commemorative	
		Diving	1354	Independent	Commemorative	
		Equestrian	1352	Independent	Commemorative	
		Fencing	1356	Independent	Commemorative	
		Gymnastics	1353	Independent	Commemorative	
		Rings	1357 HR	Independent	Commemorative	
		Shot put	1351	Independent	Commemorative	
	LX Anniversary of the México-URSS diplomatic relations					
		Mexico and Russia Flags	1358	Independent	Commemorative	
	Mexico Exports					
		Books	1130	Independent	Definitive	
		Books	1131	Independent	Definitive	
		Circuit Board	1137	Independent	Definitive	
		Copper Vase	1129	Independent	Definitive	
		Cotton	1138	Independent	Definitive	
		Electrical Conductor	1116	Independent	Definitive	
		Honey	1126	Independent	Definitive	
		Overalls	1122	Independent	Definitive	
		Overalls	1123	Independent	Definitive	
		Overalls	1124	Independent	Definitive	
		Wrought Iron	1128	Independent	Definitive	
	México, Venue of the FIFA's World Cup 1986					
		Football's ball with colours of national flag on the back	1372	Independent	Commemorative	
		Football's ball with colours of national flag on the back	1373	Independent	Commemorative	
	Christmas Motifs					
		Piñata breaking	1369	Independent	Commemorative	
		Toy train and Christmas tree	1368	Independent	Commemorative	

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Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
	First Centenary of the Birth of Rómulo Gallegos					
		Romulo Gallegos	1374	Independent	Commemorative	
	Protection of forest resources FAO-UPU					
		Hands holding trees	1350	Independent	Commemorative	
	Restructuring and systematization of the Ministry of Finance of the H. Chamber of Deputies					
		Maps. Graphs and Text	1371	Independent	Commemorative	
	The UN disarmament week					
		Hand holding fire from which emerge a dove	1367	Independent	Commemorative	
1985						
	175 Anniversary of Mexican Independence					
		Bell and Church	1403 HR	Independent	Commemorative	
		Ignacio Allende	1400	Independent	Commemorative	
		José María Morelos y Pavón	1399	Independent	Commemorative	
		Leona Vicario	1401	Independent	Commemorative	
		Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla	1398	Independent	Commemorative	
		Vicente Guerrero	1402	Independent	Commemorative	
	1985 International Youth year					
		International Youth Emblem	1378	Independent	Commemorative	
	25 Anniversary of the National Commission of free text books					
		First textbook cover	1426	Independent	Commemorative	
	25 Anniversary of the Inter-American Development Bank					


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Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Composition of economic development	1409	Independent	Commemorative	
	40 Anniversary of the Foundation of the UN					
		Rainbow colour hand and dove	1411	Independent	Commemorative	
	450 Anniversary of the Mint House, Mexico					
		1st gold and copper coins	1380	Colonial	Commemorative	
	75 Anniversary of the opening of the National University of Mexico					
		Justo Sierra	1407	Independent	Commemorative	
		Rectory 1985	1406	Independent	Commemorative	
		San Ildefonso	1404	Independent	Commemorative	
		University Crest	1408	Independent	Commemorative	
		University emblem	1405	Independent	Commemorative	
	75 Anniversary of the Mexican Revolution					
		Emiliano Zapata	1416	Independent	Commemorative	
		Francisco Villa	1415	Independent	Commemorative	
		Francisco I. Madero	1418	Independent	Commemorative	
		Liberty Bell and Revolution Monument	1419 HR	Independent	Commemorative	
		Soldadera -woman soldier-	1414	Independent	Commemorative	
		Venustiano Carranza	1417	Independent	Commemorative	
	Art and Science of Mexico					
		Agustín Yáñez	1394	Independent	Commemorative	
		Alfonso Reyes	1395	Independent	Commemorative	
		Artemio de Valle Arizpe	1397	Independent	Commemorative	


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Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		José Rubén Romero	1396	Independent	Commemorative	
		Martín Luis Guzmán	1393	Independent	Commemorative	
	"Education for health" campaign. UN, UPU, UNICEF					
		Two children, food, water on an open book	1379	Independent	Commemorative	
	Centenary of the death of Víctor Hugo					
		Víctor Hugo	1381	Independent	Commemorative	
	Mexican Stamp Exhibition MEXFIL 1985					
		Benito Juárez	1384	Independent	Commemorative	
		Certificate of 1881	1385 HR	Independent	Commemorative	
		Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla	1382	Independent	Commemorative	
		Venustiano Carranza	1383	Independent	Commemorative	
	Homage to National Flag					
		Mexican Flag	1376	Independent	Commemorative	
	IX World Forest Congress					
		Conifer Tree	1390	Independent	Commemorative	
		Mahogany tree	1392	Independent	Commemorative	
		Silk-cotton tree	1391	Independent	Commemorative	
	Launch of the first communications satellite "System Morelos"					
		Ground receiver	1387	Independent	Commemorative	
		Modes of Communication	1388	Independent	Commemorative	
		Shuttle launch	1386	Independent	Commemorative	
		Shuttle launch, Ground Receiver and Modes of Communication	1389 HR	Independent	Commemorative	
	Mexico Exports					
		Books	1133a	Independent	Definitive	
	Mexico venue of the FIFA's World Cup 1986					



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Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Aztec Stadium	1425	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
		Olympic Stadium (CU)	1424	Independent	Commemorative	
	Colonial Monuments					
		College of the Vizcainas	1427	Colonial	Commemorative	
		Palace of the Counts of Calimaya	1429	Colonial	Commemorative	
		Palace of the Counts of Heras and Soto	1428	Colonial	Commemorative	
		San Carlos Academy, 16th C.	1430	Colonial	Commemorative	
	Christmas Motifs					
		Children's winner drawings	1412	Independent	Commemorative	
		Children's winner drawings	1413	Independent	Commemorative	
	First Mexican in space and launch of the second satellite of the Morelos system					
		Astronaut	1420	Independent	Commemorative	
		Morelos Satellite	1423 HR	Independent	Commemorative	
		Rodolfo Neri	1422	Independent	Commemorative	
		The Watchman by Federico Silva	1421	Independent	Commemorative	
	Week of disarmament - UN					
		Guns and Doves	1410	Independent	Commemorative	
	Third Centenary of the Birth of Johann Sebastian Bach					
		Johann Sebastian Bach	1377		Commemorative	
1986						
	175 Anniversary of the Death of Father Miguel					


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Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
	Hidalgo y Costilla					
		Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla	1448	Independent	Commemorative	
	175 Anniversary of the Death of Ignacio Allende, Juan Aldama and Mariano Jiménez					
		Ignacio Allende	1445	Independent	Commemorative	
		Juan Aldama	1446	Independent	Commemorative	
		Mariano Jiménez	1447	Independent	Commemorative	
	175 Anniversary of the Birth of Franz Liszt					
		Franz Liszt	1459	Independent	Commemorative	
	50 Anniversary of the creation of the National Polytechnic Institute					
		Luis Enrique Erro Planetarium	1431	Independent	Commemorative	
		Polytechnic Crest, Founders	1433	Independent	Commemorative	
		School of Arts and Communications	1432	Independent	Commemorative	
	50 Anniversary of the creation of the Fiscal Tribunal of the Federation					
		National Coat of Arms	1449	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
	50 Anniversary of the foundation of the national warehouse of deposit					

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Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Emblem and Image from Codex	1455	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
	International Year of Peace					
		UN and Peace Emblems	1460	Independent	Commemorative	
	Mexican Pictorial Art					
		Desnudo con Alcatraces	1452	Independent	Commemorative	
		Paisaje Zapatista	1451	Independent	Commemorative	
		Sueño de una tarde dominical en la Alameda Central	1453	Independent	Commemorative	
	Bi-Centenary of the Birth of Nicolás Bravo					
		Nicolás Bravo	1450	Independent	Commemorative	
	Bi-Centenary of the Birth of General Guadalupe Victoria					
		Guadalupe Victoria	1454	Independent	Commemorative	
	FIFA's World Cup 1986					
		Dimanche	1441	Independent	Commemorative	
		Ernest Charles Gimpel	1442	Independent	Commemorative	
		Portrait of Ramon Novaro	1440	Independent	Commemorative	
		Poster for Championship	1444	Independent	Commemorative	


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Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
			HR			
		Three soccer players	1443	Independent	Commemorative	
		Three soccer players with cap	1439	Independent	Commemorative	
	Centenary of the creation of the Institute of geology					
		Geology Institute Emblem	1438	Independent	Commemorative	
	Centenary of the Birth of Diego Rivera					
		Diego Rivera	1464	Independent	Commemorative	
	National Commission for the Commemoration of the V centenary of the Encounter of two worlds					
		Iconography from Codex	1457	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
	World Health Day					
		Mexican Doll	1436	Independent	Commemorative	
	World Post Day					
		Stylised hands, emblem and dove	1456	Independent	Commemorative	
	Flora of Mexico					
		Calabaza -Cucurbita Pepo-	1434	Independent	Commemorative	
		Nopal -Nopalea coccinellifera-	1435	Independent	Commemorative	
	Christmas Motifs					
		Clay figurines from Tonalá	1462	Independent	Commemorative	
		Clay figurines from Tonalá	1463	Independent	Commemorative	
	Passage of Halley's Comet by the Earth					
		Halley's Comet and Halley's	1437	Independent	Commemorative	



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Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Silhouette				
	Transfer of the remains of José María Pino Suárez to the Rotunda of illustrious men					
		José María Pino Suárez	1461	Independent	Commemorative	
	XV Pan-American Congress of Highways					
		Perspective of Mining Palace	1458	Independent	Commemorative	
1987						
	125 Anniversary of Puebla's Battle					
		Allegory to Puebla's battle	1478	Independent	Commemorative	
	250 Years of the Death of Stradivarius					
		Antonio Stradivarius	1531	Independent	Commemorative	
	400 Anniversary of the first printed about shipbuilding in America					
		First Manual for shipbuilding	1485	Colonial	Commemorative	
	50 Anniversary of the intervention of the State in the regulation of the supply (CONASUPO)					
		Peasant	1486	Independent	Commemorative	
	50 Anniversary of the Nationalization of the National Railways of Mexico					
		Metlac Bridge	1530	Independent	Commemorative	
	50 Anniversary of the Autonomous University of Puebla					
		Puebla Building	1477	Independent	Commemorative	
	50 Anniversary of the National Bank of foreign trade					
		Mural painting Mercado Exterior Indigena	1484	Independent	Commemorative	
	Mexican Pictorial Art					
		Creole woman with Mantilla	1490	Independent	Commemorative	
		Self-portrait with Skull	1488	Independent	Commemorative	
		The Offering	1489	Independent	Commemorative	
	Art and Science of Mexico					

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Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Genaro Estrada	1483	Independent	Commemorative	
		J.E. Hernández y Dávalos	1509	Independent	Commemorative	
	Mexican Craftsmanship					
		Blanket, Santa Ana Chiautempan, Tlaxcala	1481	Independent	Commemorative	
		Lacquer ware tray, Uruapan Michoacán	1480	Independent	Commemorative	
		Lidder Jar, Puebla, Puebla	1482	Independent	Commemorative	
	Campaign Against Poliomyelitis					
		Oral Vaccine over Mexican Map	1471	Independent	Commemorative	
	Mexico World Championships Grand Prix 1987					
		Grand Prix Race Emblem	1517	Independent	Commemorative	
	Centenary of the National School of Teachers					
		National Teacher's College Building	1473	Independent	Commemorative	
	Mexican Indigenous Codex					
		Founding of Tenochtitlán by the Aztecs. C 1325	1520	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	


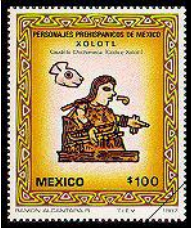
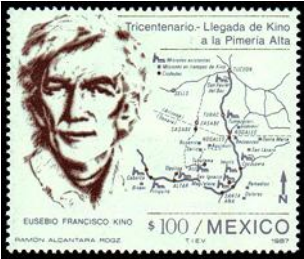
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Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Montezuma's Council	1522	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
		Pre-Hispanic wedding Ceremony	1521	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
	Congress of the Association of major metropolis					
		Stylised City's silhouette	1479	Independent	Commemorative	
	World Health Day					
		Boy face, UN Emblem	1476	Independent	Commemorative	
	World Post Day					
		Ordinance for expediting mail by sea, 1777	1525	Colonial	Commemorative	
		Roster of correspondence transported by coach, 1857	1526 HR	Colonial	Commemorative	
	Burial of the remains of José María Iglesias in the Rotunda of illustrious men					
		José María Iglesias	1472	Independent	Commemorative	
	Burial of the remains of Leandro Valle in the Rotunda of illustrious men					
		Leandro Valle	1487	Independent	Commemorative	



Appendix IV. List of Stamps

Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
	Burial of the remains of Pedro Sáinz of rail in the Rotunda of illustrious men					
		Pedro Sáinz de Baranda	1475	Independent	Commemorative	
	Mexico Exports					
		Abalone	1470	Independent	Definitive	
		Books	1466	Independent	Definitive	
		Copperware	1468	Independent	Definitive	
		Denim Overalls	1469	Independent	Definitive	
		Meat cuts marked on steer	1491	Independent	Definitive	
		Men's Shoes	1467	Independent	Definitive	
		Tomatoes	1493	Independent	Definitive	
		Wrought Iron	1465	Independent	Definitive	
	Tourist Mexico					
		Centro Cultural Mexiquense	1513	Independent	Commemorative	
		Garcia Caverns, Nuevo León	1515	Independent	Commemorative	
		Mazatlán, Sinaloa	1516	Independent	Commemorative	
		Patzcuaro Lake, Michoacán	1514	Independent	Commemorative	
	Christmas Motifs					
		Blue Dove	1524	Independent	Commemorative	
		Pink Dove	1523	Independent	Commemorative	
	Pre-Hispanic Personages of Mexico					
		Motecuhzoma Ilhuicamina	1512	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	



Appendix IV. List of Stamps

Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Nezahualpilli	1511	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
		Xolotl	1510	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
	Fiftieth anniversary of the C.F.E.					
		Electricity Power Tower	1508	Independent	Commemorative	
	Eight American Presidents Meeting					
		Flags	1527	Independent	Commemorative	
		Flags and peace doves	1528	Independent	Commemorative	
	Tamayo, 70 Years of Creation					
		Dualidad	1529	Independent	Commemorative	
	Tercentenary of the exploration of the Pimería					
		Fransico Kino and Pimeria Map	1474	Colonial	Commemorative	
	V Centenary of the encounter of two worlds					


Appendix IV. List of Stamps

Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Santa Maria Sheep and Design from Codex	1519	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
	X Pan-American Sport Games					
		Flags	1506	Independent	Commemorative	
		Marathon Runners	1507	Independent	Commemorative	
	XIII International Conference of Cartography					
		Reproduction of Old Map, 16th C.	1518	Colonial	Commemorative	
1988						
	125 Anniversary of the Foundation of the International Red Cross					
		Red Cross Headquarters Toluca, Mexico	1557	Independent	Commemorative	
	175 Anniversary of the promulgation of the Act of independence					
		Fragment of Independence Act	1570	Independent	Commemorative	
	25 Anniversary of the world boxing Council					
		Boxer and flags	1556	Independent	Commemorative	
	40 Anniversary of the World Health Organization					

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Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		The People in pursuit of health	1539	Independent	Commemorative	
	50 Anniversary of the oil expropriation					
		Oil Industry Elements	1535	Independent	Commemorative	
		PEMEX Emblem	1536	Independent	Commemorative	
		PEMEX Emblem	1537	Independent	Commemorative	
	50 Anniversary of the Federation of trade unions of workers to the service of the State FSTSE					
		National Coat of Arms	1576	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
	50 Anniversary of the decease of César Vallejo					
		César Vallejo	1543	Independent	Commemorative	
		César Vallejo	1542	Independent	Commemorative	
		César Vallejo	1541	Independent	Commemorative	
		César Vallejo	1540	Independent	Commemorative	
	50 Anniversary of the Military Pentathlon					
		University Military Pentathlon Emblem	1551	Independent	Commemorative	
	75 Anniversary of the Death of José Guadalupe Posada					
		José Guadalupe Posada	1558	Independent	Commemorative	


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Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
	Mexican Pictorial Art					
		La Malinche	1572	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
		Parade	1571	Independent	Commemorative	
		Self-Portrait by Antonio Ruiz	1573	Independent	Commemorative	
	Art and Science of Mexico					
		Alfonso Caso	1568	Independent	Commemorative	
		Carlos Pellicer Camara	1544	Independent	Commemorative	
		Vito Alessio Robles	1569	Independent	Commemorative	
	Oceanographic Assembly					
		Mapa Mundi with emphasis in Mexico	1553	Independent	Commemorative	
	World Championship of Formula One Cars, Mexico 1988					
		Layout of Rodriguez Brothers race track, Mexico City	1548	Independent	Commemorative	
	Centenary of the Birth of Ramón López Velarde					
		Felguérez abstract design	1550	Independent	Commemorative	
		Rámon López Velarde	1549	Independent	Commemorative	
	Centenary of the first Treaty of friendship, Commerce and navigation México-Japan					
		Emblems, Flags Mexico-Japan	1552	Independent	Commemorative	
	World Food Day					
		Rural Youth	1567	Independent	Commemorative	
	World Health Day: Child immunization					
		Vaccination	1538	Independent	Commemorative	


Appendix IV. List of Stamps

Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
	World Post Day					
		Envelope's World Map	1564	Independent	Commemorative	
		Envelopes, doves and Earth	1565	Independent	Commemorative	
	Mexican Philatelic Exhibition, MEPSIRREY '88					
		Alpha Planetarium	1547	Independent	Commemorative	
		Hand stamped cover	1546	Independent	Commemorative	
		Youth Collectors	1545	Independent	Commemorative	
	Fauna of Mexico					
		Ajolote -Ambystoma mexicanum-	1533	Independent	Commemorative	
		Manatí -Trichechus manatus-	1534	Independent	Commemorative	
	Flora of Mexico					
		Huitlacoche -Ustilago Maydis-	1577	Independent	Commemorative	
		Tepezcohuite -Mimosa tenuiflora-	1578	Independent	Commemorative	
	World Wildlife Fund. Monarch Butterfly					
		Monarch Butterflies	1560	Independent	Commemorative	
		Monarch Butterflies: Five Adults	1562	Independent	Commemorative	
		Monarch Butterflies: Larva, adult, pupa	1561	Independent	Commemorative	
		Monarch Butterflies: Three adults	1559	Independent	Commemorative	
	Burial of the remains of Manuel Sandoval Vallarta in the Rotunda of illustrious men					
		Manuel Sandoval Vallarta	1563	Independent	Commemorative	
	Games of the XXIV Olympiad in Seoul, Korea					
		Emblems, Torch	1555 HR	Independent	Commemorative	
		Race Runners	1554	Independent	Commemorative	
	The Supreme Court of Justice, Constitutional Court					
		Manuel Cresencio	1532	Independent	Commemorative	




Appendix IV. List of Stamps

Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
	Mexico Exports					
		Agricultural Machinery	1501	Independent	Definitive	
		Bicycle	1492	Independent	Definitive	
		Chemistry Flasks	1583	Independent	Definitive	
		Construction Materials	1499	Independent	Definitive	
		Cotton	1505	Independent	Definitive	
		Cup of Coffee	1470a	Independent	Definitive	
		Electric Wiring	1503	Independent	Definitive	
		Film	1498	Independent	Definitive	
		Honey	1504	Independent	Definitive	
		Jewellery	1497	Independent	Definitive	
		Motor Vehicle	1495	Independent	Definitive	
		Motor Vehicle	1494	Independent	Definitive	
		Petroleum Valves	1496	Independent	Definitive	
		Pistons	1500	Independent	Definitive	
		Wrought Iron	1502	Independent	Definitive	
	Christmas 1988					
		Feast	1574	Independent	Commemorative	
		Piñata	1575	Independent	Commemorative	
	Fifth Centenary of the Encounter of two worlds					
		Tlacuilo and Dominic	1566	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
1989						
	100 Years of the creation of the International Commission of limits and waters between Mexico and					

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Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
	the United States					
		Mexico-USA flags	1606	Independent	Commemorative	
	125 Anniversary of Banca Serfín					
		Original headquarters of London Bank of Mexico and South America	1633	Independent	Commemorative	
	200 Anniversary of the Birth of Francisco Xavier Mina (1789-1817)					
		Francisco Xavier Mina	1622	Independent	Commemorative	
	200 Anniversary of the Birth of Leona Vicario					
		Leona Vicario	1610	Independent	Commemorative	
	25 Years of the society of authors and composers of music					
		Stylised Composer Silhouette	1608	Independent	Commemorative	
	450 Years of Mexico the Printing Press, first in America					
		Old Document	1625	Colonial	Commemorative	
	50 Anniversary of the graphic workshop of the nation					
		Graphic Arts Workshop Emblem	1604	Independent	Commemorative	
	50 Anniversary of the National Institute of anthropology and history					
		INAH Emblem -Ollin-	1637	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
	50 Years of the National Committee for the fight against Tuberculosis					
		Cross of Lorraine	1631	Independent	Commemorative	
	75 Anniversary of Zacatecas Battle					
		Francisco Villa	1615	Independent	Commemorative	
	80 Anniversary of the Railway Mexicanization					
		Felipe Pescador	1638	Independent	Commemorative	

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Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
	America, Pre-Columbian people,					
		Disc of Chinkultic	1630	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
		Pre-Hispanic Textile Designs	1629	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
	Dominican Independence					
		Dominican Republic Coat of Arms	1605	Independent	Commemorative	
	Bicentennial of the French Revolution					
		Bastille's Battle	1621	Independent	Commemorative	
	Health World Day, World AIDS Day					
		Stylised Human Figures Holding Hands	1609	Independent	Commemorative	
	World Post Day					
		Five Continents Cancelations	1626	Independent	Commemorative	
	Encounter of two Worlds					
		Pre-Hispanic Icon and Corn and Spanish Crown and wheat	1628	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	

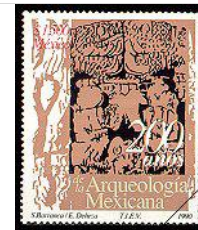
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Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
	FIA Formula One World Championship, 1989					
		Stylised Speed Car	1612	Independent	Commemorative	
	Heritage recovered. Bat Good mask. Zapotec culture					
		Mask of the Bat God	1632	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
	LXXV Anniversary of the sovereign revolutionary Convention of Aguascalientes, Mexico					
		Aguascalientes on History	1627	Independent	Commemorative	
	Mexico Exports					
		Agricultural Machinery	1588a	Independent	Definitive	
		Circuit Board	1585	Independent	Definitive	
		Citrus Fruit	1584	Independent	Definitive	
		Minerals	1589	Independent	Definitive	
		Pistons	1587	Independent	Definitive	
	Christmas '89					
		Candlelight Vigil	1635	Independent	Commemorative	
		Man with sparkler	1636	Independent	Commemorative	
	First centenary of the foundation of the city of Tijuana					
		Tijuana Municipal Coat of Arms	1620	Independent	Commemorative	
	First Centenary of the Birth of Alfonso Reyes					
		Alfonso Reyes	1611	Independent	Commemorative	

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Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
	First centenary of the birthday of the LIC. Adolfo Ruiz Cortines, former President of Mexico					
		Adolfo Ruiz Cortines	1634	Independent	Commemorative	
	Hall of the fame of the Mexico professional baseball					
		Batter	1617	Independent	Commemorative	
		Umpire and catcher	1616	Independent	Commemorative	
	VII International Marathon of Mexico City					
		Sketch Runners Race	1624	Independent	Commemorative	
	X International book fair					
		Stylised Books and Mining Palace	1607	Independent	Commemorative	
	XIV International Gerontology Congress					
		Huehuetéotl -Aztec God-	1614	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
	XIV Tianguis, Tourist Mexico Market '89					
		Landscape	1613	Independent	Commemorative	
	XXV Anniversary of the National Museum of anthropology in Chapultepec					
		Dualidad	1623	Independent	Commemorative	
	XXXV Championship world of archery, in Lausanne, Switzerland					
		Arrows and target	1619	Independent	Commemorative	
		Bows and arrows	1618	Independent	Commemorative	
1990						
	150 Anniversary of the Release of the First Postage					

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Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
	Stamps					
		Penny Black	1646	Independent	Commemorative	
	200 Years of Mexican Archaeology					
		Coatlicue	1669	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
	25 Anniversary of the Mexican Institute of Oil					
		Oil Related Activities	1659	Independent	Commemorative	
	30 Anniversary of the nationalization of the electrical industry in Mexico					
		Electricity Worker	1663	Independent	Commemorative	
	450 Anniversary of the City of Campeche					
		Mayan and Colonial Buildings	1664	Colonial	Commemorative	
	50 Anniversary of the National Chamber of Industry of Transformation, CANACINTRA					
		Cogwheel	1681	Independent	Commemorative	
	50 Anniversary of the Death of Composer Silvestre Revueltas					
		Violin and Bow	1665	Independent	Commemorative	
	50 Anniversary of University of Colima					
		Facade of Building	1661	Independent	Commemorative	
	80 Anniversary of the Plan de San Luis					
		Crossed Rifle and Pen	1666	Independent	Commemorative	
	Bi-centenary of the General Archive of the Nation					
		National Archive Building	1643	Independent	Commemorative	
	Traffic accident prevention campaign					
		Means of Transport	1683	Independent	Commemorative	

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Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
	Centenary of the beer brewing industry in Mexico					
		Glass of Beer, Ear of Barley and Hop	1680	Independent	Commemorative	
	Fifty years of the Canine Mexican Federation					
		Pre-Hispanic Clay Colima's Dog	1676	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
	Conservation of the Lacandon Jungle					
		Tree trunk	1655	Independent	Commemorative	
	International day against drug abuse and Illicit Trafficking					
		Family	1654	Independent	Commemorative	
	World Post Day					
		World Map	1677	Independent	Commemorative	
	World Environment Day					
		Globe as tree	1651	Independent	Commemorative	
	World No Tobacco Day					
		Smoke rings forming birds	1650	Independent	Commemorative	
	Encounter of Two Worlds					
		Spanish Tower and Mexican Pyramid	1668	Colonial	Commemorative	
	Poliomyelitis eradication					
		Smiling Children	1640	Independent	Commemorative	
	International Philatelic Exhibition, Stamp World London 90					
		Aztec Messenger	1645	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
	FIA Formula One, Mexico 1990					


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Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Racing car and chequered flag	1652	Independent	Commemorative	
	LXI Anniversary of the Advisory Council of Mexico City					
		Abstract Design	1662	Independent	Commemorative	
	Mexico Exports					
		Abalone	1597	Independent	Definitive	
		Agricultural Machinery	1588	Independent	Definitive	
		Chemistry Flasks	1593	Independent	Definitive	
		Copper Vase	1594	Independent	Definitive	
		Film	1586	Independent	Definitive	
		Steel Pipes	1595	Independent	Definitive	
		Strawberries	1592	Independent	Definitive	
		Strawberries	1591	Independent	Definitive	
		Tequila	1596	Independent	Definitive	
		Wrought Iron	1598a	Independent	Definitive	
		Wrought Iron	1598	Independent	Definitive	
	Christmas Motifs					
		Fireworks and Candles	1675	Independent	Commemorative	
		Globe and Poinsettia	1674	Independent	Commemorative	
	Oaxaca, World Heritage Site					
		Colonial Columns and Pre-Hispanic Design Vessel	1657	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
	First International Biennial of the poster at Mexico					
		Emblem and "90"	1644	Independent	Commemorative	
	Tampico bridge. International Prize.					

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Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Tampico Bridge	1639	Independent	Commemorative	
	Maternal and Child health					
		Mother and Child	1649	Independent	Commemorative	
	Second visit of Pope John Paul II to Mexico					
		National colours and Pope John Paul II	1648	Independent	Commemorative	
	Solidarity					
		Solidarity Emblem	1656	Independent	Commemorative	
	United for conservation. Swallow					
		Elegant Tern	1658	Independent	Commemorative	
	VIII International Marathon at Mexico City					
		National Colours, City Monuments and Runners	1660	Independent	Commemorative	
	X Anniversary of the Mexican Association of Philately, AMEXFIL					
		Stamp under magnifying glass	1642	Independent	Commemorative	
	XI General Census of Population and Housing 1990					
		People in houses	1641	Independent	Commemorative	
	XIV Conference of Supreme councils of the world					
		Emblem and Mexican Monument to Independence	1667	Independent	Commemorative	
	XV Tianguis, Tourist Mexico Market, 90					
		Stylised Church and Pyramid	1647	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
	XVI Central American and the Caribbean Games					


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Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Ball court, stone ring and ball	1673	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
		Pre-Hispanic Ball court Player	1672	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
		Pre-Hispanic Ball court Player	1671	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
		Yutsil and Balam -Mascots-	1670	Independent	Commemorative	
	XXV Anniversary of Airports and Auxiliary Services					
		Aircraft Tailfin	1653	Independent	Commemorative	
1991						
	450 Anniversary of the City of Morelia					
		Old City Plan	1715	Colonial	Commemorative	
	50 Anniversary of the Secretariat of the Navy, Navy Mexico					
		Hand holding Mexico, Emblem	1682	Independent	Commemorative	
	55 Anniversary of the Foundation of Tribunal Fiscal of the Federation					
		National Coat of Arms	1703	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
	America					
		Flowers, Galleon	1678	Colonial	Commemorative	
		Galleon, Parrot	1679	Colonial	Commemorative	
	America, discovery travel					
		Caravel, Sun and Tress	1707		Commemorative	
		Sailing ship, storm	1708		Commemorative	
	Self-sufficiency in corn and beans food					
		Kidney Beans and Corn	1714	Independent	Commemorative	
	Centenary of the Ministry of Communications and Transport					


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Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Airport Control Tower	1695b	Independent	Commemorative	
		Bow of Cargo Ship	1695p	Independent	Commemorative	
		Boxcars	1695h	Independent	Commemorative	
		Bridge Construction	1695u	Independent	Commemorative	
		Bus	1695r	Independent	Commemorative	
		Centre Section, highway bridge	1695m	Independent	Commemorative	
		Communications Van	1695e	Independent	Commemorative	
		Cranes loading cargo ship	1695o	Independent	Commemorative	
		FAX Machine	1695c	Independent	Commemorative	
		Hillside road, left section, highway bridge	1695l	Independent	Commemorative	
		Jet Landing	1695a	Independent	Commemorative	
		Locomotives	1695i	Independent	Commemorative	
		Lower Floors SCT Headquarters	1695k	Independent	Commemorative	
		Means of Transport	1694	Independent	Commemorative	
		People using telephones	1695j	Independent	Commemorative	
		Right section of bridge	1695n	Independent	Commemorative	
		Satellite	1695f	Independent	Commemorative	
		Satellite in Orbit, Earth	1695g	Independent	Commemorative	
		Television Camera	1695q	Independent	Commemorative	
		Trailers passing through toll plaza	1695t	Independent	Commemorative	
		Truck	1695s	Independent	Commemorative	
		Upper Floors SCT Headquarters	1695d	Independent	Commemorative	
	Centenary of the Birth of Carlos Mérida					
		Abstract Art	1712	Independent	Commemorative	
	Five centuries of mining in Mexico					
		Face of Miner	1690	Colonial	Commemorative	
	International Rotary Convention					

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Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Rotary Emblem	1693	Independent	Commemorative	
	World Post Day					
		Dove with Letter	1706	Independent	Commemorative	
	Total Sun Eclipse					
		Globe Showing Mexico and Nahui Ollin	1699c	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
		Globe Showing Mexico and Nahui Ollin	1699a	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
		Globe Showing Mexico and Nahui Ollin	1699b	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
	Encounter of Two Worlds					
		World Map	1709		Commemorative	
	Grand Prize of Mexico 1991					
		Driver and car	1697	Independent	Commemorative	
	IX International Marathon at Mexico City					
		Runners	1702	Independent	Commemorative	
	National children's for peace and Development Conference					
		Dove and Children	1688	Independent	Commemorative	
	Month of Maternal and Child health					
		Mother feeding baby	1691	Independent	Commemorative	
	Mexico Exports					
		Bicycle	1599	Independent	Definitive	
		Minerals	1590	Independent	Definitive	
		Overalls	1601	Independent	Definitive	
	Mozart, 200 Years of His Death					
		Score and Portrait	1713	Independent	Commemorative	
	Christmas 1991					

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Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Flowers and Pot	1710	Independent	Commemorative	
		Piñata and Children	1711	Independent	Commemorative	
	Electoral census 1991					
		In order to decide, Register	1685	Independent	Commemorative	
	Pre-Olympic Emission of the XXV Barcelona Olympic Games 92					
		Basketball player	1686	Independent	Commemorative	
	First Ibero-American Summit					
		Solidarity	1700	Independent	Commemorative	
	International Bridge Solidarity					
		Bridge	1701	Independent	Commemorative	
	Health and Family Integration					
		Dove	1689	Independent	Commemorative	
	Solidarity, respond more to those who have least					
		Solidarity Emblem	1704	Independent	Commemorative	
	Solidarity, United for progress					
		Solidarity Emblem	1705	Independent	Commemorative	
	Tianguis, Tourist Mexico Market, 91					
		Pre-Hispanic Iconography	1692	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
	All children, all vaccines					
		Children in droplet	1687	Independent	Commemorative	
	United for conservation. Lacandona Jungle. Jaguar					
		Jaguar	1696	Independent	Commemorative	
	XV Anniversary of the national consumer Institute					

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Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Products in bags	1684	Independent	Commemorative	
1992						
	400 Years of the Foundation of the City of San Luis Potosí					
		Scroll	1777	Colonial	Commemorative	
	450 Anniversary of the Foundation of the Ciudad of Mérida					
		Merida Main Building	1716	Colonial	Commemorative	
	450 Years of the Foundation of the City of Guadalajara					
		Allegory of the city's founding	1720d	Colonial	Commemorative	
		Anniversary Emblem	1720e	Colonial	Commemorative	
		Coat of Arms Guadalajara	1720a	Colonial	Commemorative	
		Guadalajara Cathedral	1720c	Colonial	Commemorative	
		Municipal Buildings	1720b	Colonial	Commemorative	
	50 Years of the National Chamber of Radio and television industry					
		Television, Map and Radio	1758	Independent	Commemorative	
	Bicentenary of engineering education in Mexico					
		Colonnade	1717	Independent	Commemorative	
	Bicentenary of notaries College, Mexico					
		Arms of Colleges	1736	Independent	Commemorative	
	National Medical Centre, Siglo XXI,					
		Hospital Complex	1732	Independent	Commemorative	
	Columbian Stamp Expo '92 (V Centenary of the Encounter of Two Worlds)					
		Human Culture by Jose Gonzalez Camarena	1757 HR	Independent	Commemorative	
		Inspiration of Christopher Columbus	1752		Commemorative	
		Meeting of the Races	1753		Commemorative	
		Pre-Hispanic Origin of the Sky	1755	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	

Appendix IV. List of Stamps

Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Quetzalcoatl and Tezcatiploca	1756	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
		Spanish, Indian and Mestizo	1754		Commemorative	
	Day of the Navy					
		Schooner, Landing Ship, Emblem and Sailors	1779	Independent	Commemorative	
	Tree's Day					
		Trees and Cactus	1737	Independent	Commemorative	
	World Health Day					
		Human Figure and Cardiograph	1724	Independent	Commemorative	
	World Post Day					
		Letter Orbiting Globe	1759	Independent	Commemorative	
	Encounter of two Worlds					
		Mexican Pyramid, Spanish Church and Ships	1735		Commemorative	
	Exhibition and Forum World Americas ,Telecom 92					
		Satellite and Map of Americas	1723	Independent	Commemorative	
	Geneva '92. Columbus, Search and Find					
		Stylized Ship and Globe	1751 HR	Independent	Commemorative	
	The traditional midwife in Mexico					
		Midwives and new born child over indigenous textile designs	1734	Independent	Commemorative	
	The rights of the child					
		Children, Dove and Globe	1733	Independent	Commemorative	
	LX Anniversary of the Superior School of war					
		Aztec Eagle's Warrior	1725	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
	Month of Children					
		Children and Height Gauge	1721	Independent	Commemorative	
	Mexico Exports					
		Bicycle	1600	Independent	Definitive	
		Chemistry Flasks	1764	Independent	Definitive	

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Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Citrus Fruit	1769	Independent	Definitive	
		Cotton	1603	Independent	Definitive	
		Cuts of Meat Marked on Steer	1763	Independent	Definitive	
		Film	1770	Independent	Definitive	
		Honey	1767	Independent	Definitive	
		Overalls	1602	Independent	Definitive	
		Petroleum Valves	1766	Independent	Definitive	
		Pistons	1765	Independent	Definitive	
		Tomatoes	1768a	Independent	Definitive	
		Tomatoes	1768	Independent	Definitive	
	Mexico Exports					
		Chemistry Flasks	1764	Independent	Commemorative	
		Citrus Fruit	1769	Independent	Commemorative	
		Cuts of meat marked on steer	1763	Independent	Commemorative	
		Film	1770	Independent	Commemorative	
		Honey	1767	Independent	Commemorative	
		Petroleum Valves	1766	Independent	Commemorative	
		Pistons	1765	Independent	Commemorative	
		Tomatoes	1768a	Independent	Commemorative	
		Tomatoes	1768	Independent	Commemorative	
	Christmas 1992					
		Christmas Tree, Children and Piñata	1780	Independent	Commemorative	
		Street Celebration	1781	Independent	Commemorative	
	System of communication network of the Americas					
		Satellite above South and Central America and Flags	1760	Independent	Commemorative	
	Solidarity, United for progress					
		Solidarity Emblem	1750	Independent	Commemorative	
	United for conservation					

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Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Berrendo Deer	1778	Independent	Commemorative	
	V Centenary of the discovery of America					
		Snake, Fish and Compass	1762		Commemorative	
		Stone of the Sun	1761	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
	V Centenary of the encounter of two worlds					
		Human Culture	1731	Independent	Commemorative	
		Inspiration of Christopher Columbus	1726		Commemorative	
		Meeting of the Races	1727		Commemorative	
		Pre-Hispanic Origin of the Sky	1729	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
		Quetzalcoatl and Tezcatiploca	1730	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
		Spanish, Indian and Mestizo	1728		Commemorative	
	VII Grand Prize of Mexico. 500 Years of the wheel and the horse in America					
		Horse and Racing Car	1722		Commemorative	
	X International Marathon of Mexico City					
		Runner and La Diana Cazadora	1749	Independent	Commemorative	
	XXV Olympic Games Barcelona 1992, Olympic allegory					
		Olympic Torch and Rings	1719	Independent	Commemorative	
	XXV Olympic Games Barcelona 1992, riding					
		Horse Rider	1718	Independent	Commemorative	
	XXV Barcelona '92 Olympic Games					
		Boxing	1738	Independent	Commemorative	
		Equestrian	1747	Independent	Commemorative	
		Fencing	1739	Independent	Commemorative	
		Football	1746	Independent	Commemorative	
		Gymnastics	1741	Independent	Commemorative	
		High jumping	1740	Independent	Commemorative	
		Rowing	1745	Independent	Commemorative	

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Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Running	1744	Independent	Commemorative	
		Shooting	1742	Independent	Commemorative	
		Swimming	1743	Independent	Commemorative	
		Torch Bearer	1748 HR	Independent	Commemorative	
1993						
	125 Anniversary of the national preparatory school					
		School and Arms	1843	Independent	Commemorative	
	150 Anniversary of the Death of Miguel Ramos Arizpe					
		Miguel Ramos Arizpe	1814	Independent	Commemorative	
	150 Anniversary of the Death of General Guadalupe Victoria					
		Guadalupe Victoria	1833	Independent	Commemorative	
	150 Anniversary of the Birth of José Peón y Contreras, Poet and Playwright					
		José Peón y Contreras	1837	Independent	Commemorative	
	150 Anniversary of the first post seal of the Republic Federal of Brazil					
		First Postage Stamps of Brazil	1824	Independent	Commemorative	
	160 Anniversary of the Mexican society of geography and statistics					
		Society Arms and Founders	1813	Independent	Commemorative	
	50 Anniversary of the children's Hospital of Mexico "Federico Gómez"					
		Federico Gómez, Children and Hospital	1815	Independent	Commemorative	
	50 Anniversary of the Instituto Tecnológico de Estudios Superiores de Monterrey					
		Buildings	1827	Independent	Commemorative	
		Open Book and Symbols	1826	Independent	Commemorative	
	50 Years of the S.S.A.					


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Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Bernardo Sepulveda Guitiérrez	1820	Independent	Commemorative	
		Gustavo Baz Prada	1823	Independent	Commemorative	
		Ignacio Chavez Sánchez	1821	Independent	Commemorative	
		Mario Salazar Mallen	1822	Independent	Commemorative	
		Maximiliano Ruiz Castañeda	1819	Independent	Commemorative	
	50 Years of the Mexican Social Security Institute					
		Child's Drawing	1808	Independent	Commemorative	
		Doctor and Child	1807	Independent	Commemorative	
		Hands	1809	Independent	Commemorative	
		Social Security emblem	1810	Independent	Commemorative	
	55 Anniversary of the F.S.T.S.E.					
		Emblem on Map	1844	Independent	Commemorative	
	75 Anniversary of the CONCAMIN					
		Cogwheels and Emblem	1829	Independent	Commemorative	
	Mexico-Acapulco Highway					
		Highway of the Sun	1846	Independent	Commemorative	
		Solidarity Mezcala Bridge	1845	Independent	Commemorative	
	Centenary of the Mexican society of Ophthalmology					
		Mexican Society of Ophthalmologists Emblem	1811	Independent	Commemorative	
	Centenary of the Villa del Torreón					
		City of Torreón	1830	Independent	Commemorative	
	Decade of the United Nations on international law					
		Hands protecting foetus	1835	Independent	Commemorative	
	World Post Day					
		Globe in Envelope	1832	Independent	Commemorative	
	The upper Gulf of California, protected Natural Area					
		Seal and Map	1817	Independent	Commemorative	
	EUROPALIA '93					
		Emblem	1831	Independent	Commemorative	

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Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
	Popular idols of Mexican cinema					
		Dolores del Río	1851	Independent	Commemorative	
		Jorge Negrete	1849	Independent	Commemorative	
		María Félix	1850	Independent	Commemorative	
		Mario Moreno "Cantinflas"	1818	Independent	Commemorative	
		Pedro Armendáriz	1847	Independent	Commemorative	
		Pedro Infante	1848	Independent	Commemorative	
	IV Solidarity Week					
		Solidarity Emblem	1828	Independent	Commemorative	
	Month of Maternal Child health					
		Mother Feeding Baby	1816	Independent	Commemorative	
	Children's Month					
		Two Children in Globe	1812	Independent	Commemorative	
	Tourist Mexico					
		Aqueduct, Queretaro	1793	Colonial	Definitive	
		Bell and Street, Guanajuato	1783	Independent	Definitive	
		Bell and Street, Guanajuato	1784	Independent	Definitive	
		Coahuila Cathedral, Coahuila	1786	Colonial	Definitive	
		Coahuila Cathedral, Coahuila	1791	Colonial	Definitive	
		Deer Dance, Sonora	1796	Independent	Definitive	
		Deer Dance, Sonora	1805	Independent	Definitive	
		Fishes and Palm Trees, Colima	1785	Independent	Definitive	
		Fishes and Palm Trees, Colima	1792	Independent	Definitive	
		Fishes and Palm Trees, Colima	1788	Independent	Definitive	
		Fishes and Sunset, Sinaloa	1794	Independent	Definitive	
		Fishes and Sunset, Sinaloa	1799	Independent	Definitive	
		Fishes and Sunset, Sinaloa	1800	Independent	Definitive	
		Maguey and Building, Zacatecas	1798	Colonial	Definitive	
		Monarch Butterflies,	1790	Independent	Definitive	

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Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Michoacán				
		Palenque, Chiapas	1789	Pre-Hispanic	Definitive	
		Palenque, Chiapas	1803	Pre-Hispanic	Definitive	
		Shrimp and building, Campeche	1782	Independent	Definitive	
		Shrimp and Building, Campeche	1787	Independent	Definitive	
		Shrimp and Building, Campeche	1798a	Colonial	Definitive	
		The Observatory, Yucatan	1795	Pre-Hispanic	Definitive	
		The Observatory, Yucatan	1801	Pre-Hispanic	Definitive	
		The Observatory, Yucatan	1802	Pre-Hispanic	Definitive	
		Valle de Bravo, State of Mexico	1797	Independent	Definitive	
		Valle de Bravo, State of Mexico	1804	Independent	Definitive	
	Christmas '93					
		Presents around Christmas Tree	1840	Independent	Commemorative	
		Three Wise Men	1841	Independent	Commemorative	
	National system of Civil protection. International Day for natural disaster reduction					
		Emblem	1834	Independent	Commemorative	
	Solidarity					
		Satellite Orbiting Earth	1842	Independent	Commemorative	
	United for the conservation1993. Quetzal and Pavón					
		Pavón	1839	Independent	Commemorative	
		Quetzal	1838	Independent	Commemorative	
	XI International Marathon of Mexico City					
		Runners	1825	Independent	Commemorative	
	XX National Sport Games on Wheelchair					

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Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Torch Carrier	1836	Independent	Commemorative	
1994						
	100 Years of the International Olympic Committee					
		Olympic Rings	1890	Independent	Commemorative	
	20 Anniversary of the population policy in Mexico					
		CONAPO Emblem	1878	Independent	Commemorative	
	225 Anniversary of the Birth of Ignacio Allende					
		Ignacio Allende	1904	Independent	Commemorative	
	25 Anniversary of Youth Integration centres					
		Emblem	1876	Independent	Commemorative	
	25 Anniversary of the Death of Adolfo López Mateos					
		Adolfo López Mateos	1885	Independent	Commemorative	
	25 Anniversary public transport system (underground)					
		Underground Coach	1883	Independent	Commemorative	
	30 Years of the National Museum of anthropology					
		Fountain of MNA	1902	Independent	Commemorative	
	34th World Congress of Advertising, Cancun, '94					
		Stylised Man figure and letters	1866	Independent	Commemorative	
	350 Anniversary of the Foundation of Salvatierra, State of Guanajuato					
		Colonial Church	1892	Colonial	Commemorative	
	40 Anniversary of University City					
		UNAM's Rectory	1887	Independent	Commemorative	
	40 Anniversary of the Foundation of Pumas Football Team-UNAM					
		Emblem	1907	Independent	Commemorative	
	50 Anniversary of ANIERM					
		Emblem and World Map	1868	Independent	Commemorative	
	50 Anniversary of the Foundation of CAPFCE. 50 Years Building Schools					

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Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Emblem and map of Mexico	1861	Independent	Commemorative	
	50 Anniversary of the Death of Writer Antoine de Saint-Exupery					
		Antoine de Saint-Exupery (1900-1944)	1896	Independent	Commemorative	
	50 Anniversary of the diplomatic relations of Mexico					
		Two butterflies	1877	Independent	Commemorative	
	50 Anniversary of the National Museum of history					
		Chapultepec Castle	1905	Independent	Commemorative	
	50 Anniversary International Civil Aviation Organization OACI					
		Emblem	1901	Independent	Commemorative	
	5th Solidarity Week					
		Three man holding flags	1886	Independent	Commemorative	
	60 Anniversary of the National Association of actors (ANDA)					
		Actors emblem	1903	Independent	Commemorative	
	60 Anniversary of the Fondo de Cultura Económica					
		FCE Emblem	1884	Independent	Commemorative	
	60 Anniversary opening of the Palace of fine arts					
		Palace of Fine Arts Facade	1895	Independent	Commemorative	
	75 Anniversary of the Death of Emiliano Zapata					
		Emiliano Zapata on horse	1859	Independent	Commemorative	
	75 Anniversary of the International Labour Organization					
		Emblem and worker	1860	Independent	Commemorative	
	75 Anniversary of the SEP. Educators					
		Estefania Castañeda Núñez	1854	Independent	Commemorative	
		Gregorio Torres Quintero	1857	Independent	Commemorative	
		José Vasconcelos	1852	Independent	Commemorative	
		Lauro Águirre Espinosa	1858	Independent	Commemorative	

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Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Moises Saenz Garza	1855	Independent	Commemorative	
		Rafael Ramirez Castañeda	1853	Independent	Commemorative	
		Rosaura Zapata	1856	Independent	Commemorative	
	International Day of Families					
		Silhouette of family	1879	Independent	Commemorative	
	Bi-Centenary of the Birth of Dr. José María Luis Mora					
		José Luis Mora	1899	Independent	Commemorative	
	FIFA World Championship 1994					
		Payers behind net	1873b	Independent	Commemorative	
		Players kicking ball	1873a	Independent	Commemorative	
	Centenary of the Normal School of Coahuila					
		Church dome	1906	Independent	Commemorative	
	Conserving Species					
		Berrendo peninsular	1875t	Independent	Commemorative	
		Calandria cola amarilla	1875f	Independent	Commemorative	
		Cardenal torito	1875g	Independent	Commemorative	
		Cenzontle norteco	1875i	Independent	Commemorative	
		Codorniz de gambel	1875n	Independent	Commemorative	
		Ganso blanco	1875m	Independent	Commemorative	
		Guacamaya roja	1875u	Independent	Commemorative	
		Guajolote norteco	1875j	Independent	Commemorative	
		Jaguar	1875p	Independent	Commemorative	
		Jaguarundi	1875q	Independent	Commemorative	
		Lobo fino de Guadalupe	1875s	Independent	Commemorative	
		Manati	1875x	Independent	Commemorative	
		Mexican prairie dog	1875v	Independent	Commemorative	
		Mexican wolf	1875w	Independent	Commemorative	
		Mono saragato	1975r	Independent	Commemorative	
		Paloma de ala blanca	1875k	Independent	Commemorative	

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Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Pato pijiji de ala blanca	1875l	Independent	Commemorative	
		Peregrin falcon	1875o	Independent	Commemorative	
		Perico frente anaranjada	1875e	Independent	Commemorative	
		Sastrecillo americano	1875h	Independent	Commemorative	
		Silhouettes of cynegetic birds - blue-	1875b	Independent	Commemorative	
		Silhouettes of endangered wildlife -red-	1875d	Independent	Commemorative	
		Silhouettes of fierce-looking wildlife -brown-	1875c	Independent	Commemorative	
		Silhouettes of ornamental birds -green-	1875a	Independent	Commemorative	
	Grandparents' Day					
		Sculpture and landscape	1894	Independent	Commemorative	
	Tree's Day					
		Tree	1880	Independent	Commemorative	
	World Telecommunication day					
		Emblem and face profile	1867	Independent	Commemorative	
	World Post Day					
		Man writing letters	1897	Independent	Commemorative	
	International Fair fishery '94 Mexico Veracruz					
		Fish	1874	Independent	Commemorative	
	Homage to Francisco Zúñiga					
		Contemporary Sculpture	1865	Independent	Commemorative	
	Opening of National Medic centre "20 de Noviembre"					
		Emblem	1888	Independent	Commemorative	
	Children for peace Conference					
		Children and Globe in flower	1862	Independent	Commemorative	
	Month of Maternal and Child health					
		Mother feeding baby	1872	Independent	Commemorative	
	Mexican Christmas 1994					

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Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Tree	1909	Independent	Commemorative	
		Two children looking at a comet	1908	Independent	Commemorative	
	Prevention of Mental retardation					
		Foot print and heart	1871	Independent	Commemorative	
	Prevention and treatment of Youth					
		Three teenagers	1863	Independent	Commemorative	
	National programme clean water					
		Hand holding drop	1898	Independent	Commemorative	
	national week of patriotic symbols					
		Mexican flag, eagle and national anthem	1889	Independent	Commemorative	
	America series. Postal vehicles Transport					
		Mail delivery vehicles: bicycle	1891a	Independent	Commemorative	
		Mail delivery vehicles: railroad	1891b	Independent	Commemorative	
	Horses Series					
		Aztec racer	1893e	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
		Black quarter horse	1893c	Independent	Commemorative	
		Charro on horseback	1893d	Independent	Commemorative	
		Chinaco riding galloping horse	1893f	Independent	Commemorative	
		Light brown quarter horse	1893b	Independent	Commemorative	
		Saddled Aztec Racer	1893a	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
	United for conservation. American Flamingo					
		Pink Flamingo	1864	Independent	Commemorative	
	Valle de Chalco Solidarity, Municipality Number 122 of the State of Mexico					
		Chalco landscape	1910	Independent	Commemorative	
	XII International Marathon of Mexico City					
		Runner on finishing line	1881	Independent	Commemorative	
	XV Anniversary of the theatre Fernando Soler at Saltillo, Coahuila					

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Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Fernando Soler and Theatre	1900	Independent	Commemorative	
	YUMKÁ – Villahermosa, Mexico					
		Zoo Animals	1869	Independent	Commemorative	
	Zacatecas, World Heritage Site					
		Street of Zacatecas	1870	Colonial	Commemorative	
	Chapultepec Zoo					
		Tohui -Panda Bear-	1882	Independent	Commemorative	
1995						
	100 Years of the discovery of the radiology, 1895-1995					
		Wilhelm Roentgen	1912	Independent	Commemorative	
	10th Anniversary of the Mexican Foundation for health					
		Tree with map of Mexico	1945	Independent	Commemorative	
	125 Anniversary of the national school for the blind					
		Blind man walking, hand reading Braille	1921	Independent	Commemorative	
	25 Anniversary of CONACYT					
		Robot hand giving flowers to human hand	1951	Independent	Commemorative	
	40 Anniversary of the National Institute of public administration					
		INAP Emblem	1915	Independent	Commemorative	
	50 Anniversary of the FAO					
		FAO Emblem	1930	Independent	Commemorative	
	50 Anniversary of the Foundation of the UN					
		Dove with flag tail	1934	Independent	Commemorative	
	50 Anniversary of the national prize of Arts and Sciences					
		Proportions of Man with Pre-Hispanic Symbols	1949	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
	50 Anniversary of the death of Plutarco Elías Calles					

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Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Plutarco Elías Calles	1931	Independent	Commemorative	
	50. Centenary of the Birth of Cuauhtémoc					
		Cuauhtémoc	1932	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
	75 Anniversary of the death of President Venustiano Carranza					
		Venustiano Carranza	1917	Independent	Commemorative	
	International Year of the Passenger					
		Car, train and plane	1935	Independent	Commemorative	
	National Library of Education					
		Building and emblem	1948	Independent	Commemorative	
	Centenary of the death of writer and politician Cuban José Martí					
		José Martí	1916	Independent	Commemorative	
	Centenary of Cinema					
		Lumiere and cinematographer	1947	Independent	Commemorative	
	Centenary of the Birth of General. Lázaro Cárdenas del Río					
		Lázaro Cárdenas	1920	Independent	Commemorative	
	Centenary of the death of Louis Pasteur					
		Louis Pasteur	1927	Independent	Commemorative	
	Teacher's Day, Ignacio Manuel Altamirano					
		Ignacio Manuel Altamirano	1913	Independent	Commemorative	
	International Day against Drug Abuse and Illicit Trafficking					
		Face becoming skull with pills, needle	1919a	Independent	Commemorative	
		Faces behind bars	1919c	Independent	Commemorative	
		Person as puppet	1919b	Independent	Commemorative	
	World Food Day					

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Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Milk and corn	1929	Independent	Commemorative	
	World Telecommunication Day					
		Globe and waves	1914	Independent	Commemorative	
	World Post Day					
		Hands holding letters	1928	Independent	Commemorative	
	Animal Species Mexico-Canada					
		Anas acuta	1924c	Independent	Commemorative	
		Ceryle alcyon	1924d	Independent	Commemorative	
		Danaus plexippus	1924a	Independent	Commemorative	
		Lasiurus cinereus	1924b	Independent	Commemorative	
	Popular Idols of Radio					
		Agustín Lara	1950b	Independent	Commemorative	
		Cri-cri	1950e	Independent	Commemorative	
		Emilio Tuero	1950f	Independent	Commemorative	
		Gonzalo Curiel	1950g	Independent	Commemorative	
		Hermanas Águila	1950c	Independent	Commemorative	
		Lola Belrán	1950h	Independent	Commemorative	
		Pedro Vargas	1950a	Independent	Commemorative	
		Toña "La Negra"	1950d	Independent	Commemorative	
	Day of the national Act and Symbols					
		National Flag, Constitution and Anthem	1933	Independent	Commemorative	
	Outstanding Military Man in the History of Mexico					
		Ignacio Zaragoza	1937	Independent	Commemorative	
		Leandro Valle	1941	Independent	Commemorative	
		Pedro María Anaya	1940	Independent	Commemorative	
		Santos Degollado	1942	Independent	Commemorative	
		Sóstenes Rocha	1939	Independent	Commemorative	
		Sóstenes Rocha	1938	Independent	Commemorative	
	Mexican Christmas 1995					

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Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Celebrating Christmas at home	1943	Independent	Commemorative	
		Three wise men and Jesus	1944	Independent	Commemorative	
	Pinacoteca Virreinal					
		The Holy Family, 1572	1936	Colonial	Commemorative	
	Third Centenary of the death of Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz					
		Juana Inés de la Cruz	1911	Colonial	Commemorative	
	United for Conservation. Ocelote					
		Ocelote	1946	Independent	Commemorative	
	XIII International Marathon of Mexico City					
		Man and woman running	1925	Independent	Commemorative	
	XVI Congress of the UPAEP					
		UPAEP Emblem	1926	Independent	Commemorative	
	XX Tianguis, Tourist Mexico Market,					
		Banner and landscape	1918	Independent	Commemorative	
1996						
	175 Anniversary of the consummation of independence					
		Flag of the Three Guarantees Army	1994	Independent	Commemorative	
	25 Years of the National Council for educational development					
		Rural Education	1991	Independent	Commemorative	
	30 years of Sculptor career Sebastián					
		Sebastian Sculpture	2016	Independent	Commemorative	
	350 Anniversary of the Palafox Library at Puebla					
		Palafoxiana Library	2013	Independent	Commemorative	
	400 Years of the Foundation of Monterrey					
		Foundation of Monterrey	1992 HR	Colonial	Commemorative	
	450 Years of the Foundation of Zacatecas					

Appendix IV. List of Stamps

Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Allegory of the Foundation of Zacatecas	1990	Colonial	Commemorative	
	50 Anniversary of the Foundation of the UNICEF					
		Smiling Sun	2012	Independent	Commemorative	
	50 Anniversary of the National Institute of Cancer Research					
		Old and New Institute Buildings	2007	Independent	Commemorative	
	50 Anniversary of the National Institute of Nutrition Salvador Zubirán					
		Salvador Zubiran Institute	1997	Independent	Commemorative	
	50 Years of the Mexican society of Orthopaedics					
		Pre-Hispanic treatment of fracture	1981	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
	60 Anniversary of the National Polytechnic Institute					
		Anniversary Emblem and Map of Mexico	1983	Independent	Commemorative	
	60 Years Law Federal Justice Act					
		Emblem and Scales	1988	Independent	Commemorative	
	75 Anniversary of the broadcasting industry in Mexico					
		Constantino de Tarvana	1998	Independent	Commemorative	
	Centenary of cinema in Mexico					
		Camerman and film frames of actors	1987	Independent	Commemorative	
		Cameraman and film frames of couples	1986	Independent	Commemorative	
	Centenary of the Birth of David Alfaro Siqueiros					
		Self-Portrait David Alfaro Siqueiros	2009	Independent	Commemorative	
	Fiftieth anniversary of the Plaza México (bullfighting)					
		Matadors: Rodolfo Gaona, Fermin Espinoza "Armillita",	1953	Independent	Commemorative	


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Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Lorenzo Garza				
		Matadors: Silverio Perez, Carlos Arruza, Manolo Martinez	1952	Independent	Commemorative	
	International Congress of Underground					
		Underground train around globe	2003	Independent	Commemorative	
	Conserve the species of Mexico					
		Aguila Arpia	1995a	Independent	Commemorative	
		Armadillo	1995v	Independent	Commemorative	
		Cacomixtle	1995x	Independent	Commemorative	
		Chachalaca	1995r	Independent	Commemorative	
		Coyote	1995i	Independent	Commemorative	
		Crocodile	1995u	Independent	Commemorative	
		Cuco Canelo	1995m	Independent	Commemorative	
		Encino	1995q	Independent	Commemorative	
		Guacamaya roja	1995e	Independent	Commemorative	
		Jaguar	1995j	Independent	Commemorative	
		Liebre	1995s	Independent	Commemorative	
		Lince	1995n	Independent	Commemorative	
		Martucha	1995k	Independent	Commemorative	
		Monarch butterflies	1995c	Independent	Commemorative	
		Ocelote	1995p	Independent	Commemorative	
		Oso hormiguero	1995o	Independent	Commemorative	
		Pecari	1995w	Independent	Commemorative	
		Puma	1995h	Independent	Commemorative	
		Quetzal	1995f	Independent	Commemorative	
		Tapir	1995t	Independent	Commemorative	
		Tortola serrana	1995b	Independent	Commemorative	
		Venado Bura	1995d	Independent	Commemorative	
		Venado cola blanca	1995g	Independent	Commemorative	

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Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Woodpecker	1951	Independent	Commemorative	
	Decade of the United Nations against drug trafficking and abuse					
		Hands reaching toward another	1984a	Independent	Commemorative	
		Man Helping addict out of dark hole	1984b	Independent	Commemorative	
		Stylized figures	1984c	Independent	Commemorative	
	Aviation Day					
		Jet landing	1954b	Independent	Commemorative	
		Modern jetliner and biplane	1954d	Independent	Commemorative	
		Patrol jet	1954a	Independent	Commemorative	
		Squadron 2001 (1945)	1954c	Independent	Commemorative	
	International Day for the preservation of the ozone layer					
		Sun's Rays and Earth	2015	Independent	Commemorative	
	World Food Day					
		Maize	2000	Independent	Commemorative	
	World Post Day					
		Bird and Letter in Beak	1996	Independent	Commemorative	
	Dr. Alfonso Caso, 100 Years of his Birth					
		Alfonso Caso	1955	Independent	Commemorative	
	Tribute to the precursors of the Mexican foreign policy					
		Isidro Fabela and Genaro Estrada	2017	Independent	Commemorative	
	Tribute to Dr. José María Barceló of Villagrán: XXXII Congress of surgeons, Hospital Juárez					
		José María Barceló de Villagrán	2010	Independent	Commemorative	
	Tribute to Mexican Writer Andrés Henestrosa					
		Andrés Henestrosa	2006	Independent	Commemorative	

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Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
	National Tribute to Juan Rulfo					
		Juan Rulfo	1982	Independent	Commemorative	
	National Institute for nuclear research					
		Sphere and Atomic Symbol	2014	Independent	Commemorative	
	Science from Mexico					
		Flask, Open Books, Atomic Model and Microscope	2001	Independent	Commemorative	
	Tourist Mexico					
		Aqueduct, Queretaro	1965	Colonial	Definitive	
		Aqueduct, Queretaro	1975	Colonial	Definitive	
		Bell and Street, Guanajuato	1963	Independent	Definitive	
		Coahuila Cathedral, Coahuila	1968	Colonial	Definitive	
		Deer Dance, Sonora	1971	Independent	Definitive	
		Deer Dance, Sonora	1979	Independent	Definitive	
		Fishes and Palm Trees, Colima	1960	Independent	Definitive	
		Fishes and Palm Trees, Colima	1962	Independent	Definitive	
		Fishes and Palm Trees, Colima	1976	Independent	Definitive	
		Fishes and Sunset, Sinaloa	1969	Independent	Definitive	
		Fishes and Sunset, Sinaloa	1978	Independent	Definitive	
		Maguey and Building, Zacatecas	1977	Independent	Definitive	
		Monarch Butterflies, Michoacan	1973	Independent	Definitive	
		Palenque, Chiapas	1961	Pre-Hispanic	Definitive	
		Palenque, Chiapas	1964	Pre-Hispanic	Definitive	
		Shrimp and Building, Campeche	1967	Independent	Definitive	

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Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Shrimp and Building, Campeche	1972	Independent	Definitive	
		The Observatory, Yucatan	1974	Pre-Hispanic	Definitive	
		Valle de Bravo, State of Mexico	1966	Independent	Definitive	
		Valle de Bravo, State of Mexico	1970	Independent	Definitive	
		Valle de Bravo, State of Mexico	1980	Independent	Definitive	
	Christmas 1996					
		Man carrying piñatas	2005	Independent	Commemorative	
		Star Piñata	2004	Independent	Commemorative	
	October: Reproductive health month					
		Emblem	1993	Independent	Commemorative	
	Pinacoteca Virreinal					
		Archangel Michael	1999b	Colonial	Commemorative	
		Portrait of a Woman	1999a	Colonial	Commemorative	
		Portrait of Doña Maria Luisa Gonzaga	1999e	Colonial	Commemorative	
		Portrait of young Joaquin Manuel Fernández	1999c	Colonial	Commemorative	
		The Virgin of the Apocalypse	1999d	Colonial	Commemorative	
	Programme: Welcome Home Paisano					
		Paisano Emblem	2008	Independent	Commemorative	
	United for conservation: black bear					
		Black Bear	2011	Independent	Commemorative	
	XIV International Marathon of Mexico City					
		Runner's feet	1989	Independent	Commemorative	
	XX Anniversary of the Federal consumer Attorney					
		Bag of Groceries	1956	Independent	Commemorative	
	XXVI Olympic Games Atlanta 96					
		Equestrian show jumping	1985e	Independent	Commemorative	
		Football	1985b	Independent	Commemorative	


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Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Hurdles	1985d	Independent	Commemorative	
		Marathons race	1985c	Independent	Commemorative	
		Women's gymnastics	1985a	Independent	Commemorative	
1997						
	100 Years of the University Central Hospital					
		Central University Hospital Chihuahua	2059	Independent	Commemorative	
	150 Anniversary of the Saint Patrick's battalion (joint with Ireland emission)					
		Commemorative Cross	2049	Independent	Commemorative	
	150 Anniversary of the Juárez Hospital of Mexico					
		Hospital Entrance	2044	Independent	Commemorative	
	40 Years of the Autonomous University of Baja California					
		University Building	2036	Independent	Commemorative	
	50 Anniversary of the school of pilots aviators of Mexico					
		Passenger Airlines	2042	Independent	Commemorative	
	50 Anniversary of the Hospital General Dr. Manuel Gea González					
		Hospital	2054	Independent	Commemorative	
	50 Years of the first edition of the book of Agustín Yáñez, "Al Filo del Agua"					
		Agustín Yáñez	2033	Independent	Commemorative	
	60 Anniversary of the National Bank of foreign trade					
		Europe and America Hemispheres and Emblem	2040	Independent	Commemorative	
	80 Anniversary of the political Constitution of the Mexican United States					
		Venustiano Carranza and National Coat of Arms	2032	Independent	Commemorative	
	90 Anniversary of the Quinta Casa de Correos					

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Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Mexican Central Post Office	2022	Independent	Commemorative	
	National Chamber of the Bakery Industry					
		Basic Ingredients	2061c	Independent	Commemorative	
		Man working at oven	2061b	Independent	Commemorative	
		Storage Shelves	2061a	Independent	Commemorative	
	Centenary of the foundation of the Naval Military School					
		Emblem and Eagle Eating Serpent	2039	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
	Centenary of the first Japanese migration to Mexico (joint with Japan emission))					
		Mexican Mythological Figures	2035		Commemorative	
	Centenary of the birth of Dr. Ignacio Chávez					
		Ignacio Chávez	2031	Independent	Commemorative	
	Centenary of the Death of Heinrich Von Stephan					
		Heinrich von Stephan	2052	Independent	Commemorative	
	CL Anniversary in defence of the fatherland					
		Battle of Churubusco	2046	Independent	Commemorative	
		Battle of Molino del Rey	2047	Independent	Commemorative	
		Battle of Padierna	2045	Independent	Commemorative	
		Defence of the Castle of Chapultepec	2047b	Independent	Commemorative	
	International Education Summit					
		Book, Inkwell and Pencil	2020	Independent	Commemorative	
	Teacher's Day: Rafael Ramírez					
		Rafael Ramírez	2034	Independent	Commemorative	
	International Day against Drug Abuse and Illicit Trafficking					
		Dove flying free	2037a	Independent	Commemorative	
		Dove imprisoned behind bars	2037b	Independent	Commemorative	
		Man opening cage	2037c	Independent	Commemorative	

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Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
	International women's day					
		Woman dancing	2029	Independent	Commemorative	
	World Post Day					
		Bird Carrying Letter	2051	Independent	Commemorative	
	Dr. Mario José Molina Henríquez, Nobel Prize of Chemistry 1995					
		Mario José Molina Henríquez 1995 recipient in Chemistry	2060	Independent	Commemorative	
	Tribute to Guillermo Prieto					
		Guillermo Prieto	2048	Independent	Commemorative	
	Tribute to Carlos Pellicer					
		Carlos Pellicer	2018	Independent	Commemorative	
	Mexican Tribute to Poet Andrés Eloy Blanco					
		Andrés Eloy Blanco	2019	Independent	Commemorative	
	Tribute and recognition of science to the Dr. Sigmund Freud					
		Pre-Hispanic Icon and Sigmund Freud	2038	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
	LXXV Anniversary of Mexican College Lawyers					
		Emblem	2055	Independent	Commemorative	
	Manuel Gómez Morín, Centenary of his birth					
		Manuel Gómez Morín	2053	Independent	Commemorative	
	Outstanding Military Men in the History of Mexico 2nd series					
		Cándido Aguilar	2027	Independent	Commemorative	
		Felipe Ángeles	2026	Independent	Commemorative	

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Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Francisco L. Urquiza	2023	Independent	Commemorative	
		Jacinto B. Treviño	2025	Independent	Commemorative	
		Joaquín Amaro	2028	Independent	Commemorative	
		Mariano Escobedo	2024	Independent	Commemorative	
	Christmas Motifs					
		Children playing blind-man's buff	2057	Independent	Commemorative	
		Children with Piñata	2056	Independent	Commemorative	
	New Social Security Act					
		IMSS Emblem	2058	Independent	Commemorative	
	October month of reproductive health					
		Emblem	2050	Independent	Commemorative	
	First International Congress of the Spanish language					
		Grammar by Juan Correa	2030	Independent	Commemorative	
	Tlatelolco Treaty					
		Tree, Globe and Atomic Cloud	2021	Independent	Commemorative	
	Tercentenary of the foundation of the city of Loreto, Baja California Sur					
		Galleon and Map of Loreto, Baja California	2063	Colonial	Commemorative	
	United for conservation: Marsopa Vaquita					
		Marsopa Vaquita	2041	Independent	Commemorative	
	XV International Marathon of Mexico City					
		Runners	2043	Independent	Commemorative	
	XXV Anniversary of International Festival Cervantino					
		Buildings	2062	Independent	Commemorative	
1998						
	100 Years of the Birth of Dr. Salvador Zubirán					
		Salvador Zubirán	2071	Independent	Commemorative	
	125 Anniversary of the Autonomous University of Sinaloa					

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Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		University Arms	2112	Independent	Commemorative	
	150 Anniversary of the Birth of Justo Sierra					
		Justo Sierra	2070	Independent	Commemorative	
	175 Anniversary of the Foundation of Heroico Colegio Militar					
		Heroic Military Campus	2098	Independent	Commemorative	
	175 Anniversary of the General archive of the nation					
		Lucas Alamán	2093	Independent	Commemorative	
	20 Years of Gamble Sport Prediction for Public Assistance					
		Macuixochitl	2076	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
	25 Anniversary of the Popular Autonomous University of the State of Puebla					
		University Emblem	2073	Independent	Commemorative	
	25 Anniversary of the College of Petroleum Engineers of Mexico					
		Oil Rig and Emblem	2104	Independent	Commemorative	
	25 Years of the Latin American Civil Aviation Commission					
		Aztec bird-man and aeroplane	2109	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
	250 years of the New Santander to the New Tamaulipas					
		Crops	2075	Independent	Commemorative	
		Tamaulipas Map and Mexico Map	2099	Independent	Commemorative	
	475 Anniversary of the Foundation of Colima					
		Franciscan Monastery, Colima	2106	Colonial	Commemorative	
	50 Anniversary of the creation of the school military of classes of weapons					
		Sword, rifle and bomb	2064	Independent	Commemorative	
	50 Anniversary of the Organization of American States (OAS)					

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Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Emblem	2072	Independent	Commemorative	
	50 Anniversary of the National Institute For Indigenous People					
		Indigenous woman carrying baby	2110	Independent	Commemorative	
	60 Anniversary of the FSTSE					
		National Coat or Arms	2111	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
	75 Anniversary of the creation of the International Criminal Police Organization, Interpol					
		Globe, Interpol emblem	2094	Independent	Commemorative	
	75 Anniversary of Chapultepec Zoo					
		Alfonso Herrera	2082	Independent	Commemorative	
	France ' 98 FIFA's World Championship					
		Eiffel Tower, Player and Flag	2069a HR	Independent	Commemorative	
		Mexican Eagle Mascot	2069b HR	Independent	Commemorative	
	France ' 98 soccer World Championship					
		Eiffel Tower, Player and Flag	2067	Independent	Commemorative	
	France ' 98 soccer World Championship "Aguigol"					
		Mexican Eagle Mascot	2068	Independent	Commemorative	
	Centenary of the independence of the Philippines (joint with the Philippines and Spain emission)					
		Mexican flag, sailing ship	2079	Independent	Commemorative	
		Mexican, Philippine flags, sailing ship	2080 HR	Independent	Commemorative	
	Cultural centre Santo Domingo Oaxaca					
		Entirely Complex	2089a	Colonial	Commemorative	
		Ethno botanic Garden	2089d	Colonial	Commemorative	
		Francisco de Burgoa Library	2089c	Colonial	Commemorative	
		Portals of Museum	2089b	Colonial	Commemorative	
	Fiftieth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of					


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Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
	Human Rights					
		Emblem	2077	Independent	Commemorative	
	Conserve the marine species of Mexico					
		Albatross	2090b	Independent	Commemorative	
		Alligator	2090j	Independent	Commemorative	
		Barracudas	2090n	Independent	Commemorative	
		Blowfish, turtle	2090t	Independent	Commemorative	
		Blue fin tuna, jellyfish	2090m	Independent	Commemorative	
		Crab, sandollars	2090u	Independent	Commemorative	
		Crab, turtle, moray eel	2090w	Independent	Commemorative	
		Dolphins, flamingos	2090d	Independent	Commemorative	
		Elegant Swallows, dolphin	2090g	Independent	Commemorative	
		Flamingos	2090i	Independent	Commemorative	
		Frigate bird, gray whale	2090a	Independent	Commemorative	
		Garibaldi	2090p	Independent	Commemorative	
		Hammerhead shark	2090q	Independent	Commemorative	
		Huachinango, shrimp, ray	2090r	Independent	Commemorative	
		Killer Whale	2090h	Independent	Commemorative	
		Manatee	2090o	Independent	Commemorative	
		Four eyes Butterfly	2090x	Independent	Commemorative	
		Octopus	2090s	Independent	Commemorative	
		Sardines	2090k	Independent	Commemorative	
		Sea Lions	2090f	Independent	Commemorative	
		Sea-Horse, angelfish	2090v	Independent	Commemorative	
		Shark, coral	2090y	Independent	Commemorative	
		Squid, loggerhead turtle	2090l	Independent	Commemorative	
		Turtles	2090e	Independent	Commemorative	
		Whale's tail flukes	2090c	Independent	Commemorative	
	Economic and Cultural Cooperation Mexico-France					

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Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Quetzalcóatl Head and Eiffel Tower	2105	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
	Tree's Day					
		Tree	2083	Independent	Commemorative	
	Teacher's Day: Soledad Anaya Solórzano					
		Soledad Anaya Solórzano	2074	Independent	Commemorative	
	International Day against Drug Abuse and Illicit Trafficking					
		Open book and dove	2081	Independent	Commemorative	
	International women's day					
		Hands holding children on heart	2065	Independent	Commemorative	
	World Food Day, 1998					
		Indigenous Woman and potatoes	2101	Independent	Commemorative	
	World Post Day					
		Key opening Globe	2097	Independent	Commemorative	
	World Tourism Day					
		Mayan Mask	2092	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
	Federico García Lorca 100 Years of his Birth					
		Federico García Lorca	2078	Independent	Commemorative	
	Mexican Festivities (joint with United States emission: "5 de Mayo")					
		Jarabe Tapatio Dancing	2066	Independent	Commemorative	
	Opening of the Philatelic Museum in Oaxaca					
		Burnished vase with carving	2085	Independent	Commemorative	

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Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Convent of St. Peter and St. Paul, Teposcula	2084	Colonial	Commemorative	
		El Camino	2086	Independent	Commemorative	
		Pre-Hispanic Golden Breast	2087	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
	Christmas Motifs					
		Christmas Scene	2107	Independent	Commemorative	
		Piñata and candy	2108	Independent	Commemorative	
	Nishizawa 50 Years of Painter					
		Painting	2096	Independent	Commemorative	
	October: Reproductive health month					
		Stylised couple	2095	Independent	Commemorative	
	Precinct to Tribute Benito Juárez					
		Benito Juárez	2088	Independent	Commemorative	
	National week on migration in Mexico					
		Mexico arrowed on globe	2102	Independent	Commemorative	
	United for conservation. The Royal Eagle					
		Golden Eagle	2100	Independent	Commemorative	
	XVI International Marathon of Mexico City					
		Runners	2091	Independent	Commemorative	
	XXV Anniversary of the death of José Alfredo Jiménez					
		José Alfredo Jiménez	2103	Independent	Commemorative	
1999						
	125 Anniversary of the Universal Postal Union					
		UPU Messengers	2166	Independent	Commemorative	

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Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
	140 Anniversary of the Civil Register					
		Benito Juárez	2153	Independent	Commemorative	
	150 Anniversary of the State of Guerrero					
		Pre-Hispanic Cave Painting and State of Arms	2171	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
	175 Anniversary of the State of México					
		State Arms, Model Figures and Signature	2159	Independent	Commemorative	
	20 Years of CONALEP					
		Emblem	2175	Independent	Commemorative	
	25 Anniversary of the Autonomous Metropolitan University					
		UAM Emblem	2170	Independent	Commemorative	
	25 Years of family planning in Mexico					
		Emblem and Map	2163	Independent	Commemorative	
	25 Years of the national population Council					
		Family members	2143	Independent	Commemorative	
	25 Years of the State of Quintana Roo					
		Maya Stone Carving and Andrés Quintana Roo	2165	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
	40 Anniversary of the National Commission of free text books					
		Bird on flower (natural sciences)	2172	Independent	Commemorative	
		Children dancing (Tsuní tsame)	2156	Independent	Commemorative	
		Children, flag and book on island	2155	Independent	Commemorative	
		Mexico	2142	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
	40 Anniversary of ISSSTE					

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Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		ISSSTE emblem	2161	Independent	Commemorative	
	65 Years of Nacional Financiera					
		Modern building	2151	Independent	Commemorative	
	75 Anniversary of the Mexican Baseball League AAA					
		Catcher	2146d	Independent	Commemorative	
		Pitcher lifting up large foot	2146c	Independent	Commemorative	
		Skeleton Pitcher and Batter	2146a	Independent	Commemorative	
		Stylized Pitcher	2146b	Independent	Commemorative	
	75 Years of the Carnival of Veracruz					
		Maracas Player and Streamers	2114	Independent	Commemorative	
	Bicentenary of the city of Acapulco, Gro.					
		Couple in Hammock	2115	Independent	Commemorative	
		Diving from cliff	2116	Independent	Commemorative	
	Bicentenary of the city of Toluca					
		Toluca Main Building	2158	Independent	Commemorative	
	Bicentennial of the journey of the Baron Von Humboldt to the Americas					
		Alexander Von Humboldt and Globe	2176	Independent	Commemorative	
	Centenary of the Death of Mexican Bullfighter Ponciano Díaz Salinas					
		Ponciano Díaz Salinas	2144 HR	Independent	Commemorative	
	Chávez-Revueltas					
		Carlos Chávez and Silvestre Revueltas	2169	Independent	Commemorative	
	One hundred fifteen years of the National Bank of Mexico					
		Old 10 Pesos Note	2148	Independent	Commemorative	
		Old and New Headquarters	2147	Independent	Commemorative	
	Fiftieth anniversary of the Union of Latin American universities					

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Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Emblem	2160	Independent	Commemorative	
	Tree's Day					
		Tree	2152	Independent	Commemorative	
	Teacher's Day: Guadalupe Cenicerros de Pérez					
		Guadalupe Cenicerros de Pérez	2145	Independent	Commemorative	
	International Day against Drug Abuse and Illicit Trafficking					
		Couple holding hands	2150	Independent	Commemorative	
	International women's day					
		Internet website design	2113	Independent	Commemorative	
	World Post Day					
		Globe and Stamps	2167	Independent	Commemorative	
	World Canine Exhibition, Mexico 1999					
		Chihuahua dog with pre-Hispanic icon	a	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
		German shepherd dog with pre-Hispanic icon	2149c	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
		Rottweiler dog with pre-Hispanic icon	2149d	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
		Xoloitzcuintle dog with pre-Hispanic icon	2149b	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
	National Tribute to Rufino Tamayo					
		Rufino Tamayo	2157	Independent	Commemorative	
	ICOMOS México '99					
		Emblem and Monument	2168	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
	Satellite Launching, Satmex 5					
		Satamex 5 and Globe	2117	Independent	Commemorative	
	Mexico from the 20th Century to the Third Millennium, Education					
		Free text books	2177d	Independent	Commemorative	
		IPN	2177c	Independent	Commemorative	


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Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Justo Sierra and José Vasconcelos	2177b	Independent	Commemorative	
		Reading campaign	2177e	Independent	Commemorative	
		UNAM	2177a	Independent	Commemorative	
	Tourist Mexico					
		Aqueduct, Queretaro	2132	Colonial	Definitive	
		Bell and Street, Guanajuato	2127	Independent	Definitive	
		Coahuila Cathedral, Coahuila	2122	Colonial	Definitive	
		Coahuila Cathedral, Coahuila	2126	Colonial	Definitive	
		Deer Dance, Sonora	2130	Independent	Definitive	
		Fishes and Palm Trees, Colima	2124	Independent	Definitive	
		Fishes and Sunset, Sinaloa	2133	Independent	Definitive	
		Maguey and Building, Zacatecas	2137	Independent	Definitive	
		Monarch Butterflies, Michoacán	2131	Independent	Definitive	
	Christmas Motifs					
		Children around Piñata	2173	Independent	Commemorative	
		Piñatas	2174	Independent	Commemorative	
	United for conservation, El Águila Arpía					
		Harpy Eagle	2164	Independent	Commemorative	
	Visit of Pope John Paul II to Mexico					
		Visit of Pope John Paul II	2118 HR	Independent	Commemorative	
	XVII International Marathon of Mexico City					
		Runner's feet	2154	Independent	Commemorative	
	XXV Anniversary of the State of Baja California Sur					
		Map and State Emblem	2162	Independent	Commemorative	
2000						
	125 Anniversary of the Restoration of the Senate					
		National Coat of Arms	2199	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	

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Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
	150 Anniversary of Telegraph in Mexico					
		Samuel Morse, Juan de la Garza and Telegraph	2212	Independent	Commemorative	
	20 Anniversary of the Foundation of the Latin American Association of Integration ALADI					
		Flags and Globe	2198	Independent	Commemorative	
	25 Years of the Institute of electrical research					
		Sky Lightning	2214	Independent	Commemorative	
	250 Anniversary of Ciudad Victoria, Tamaulipas					
		Building and Emblem	2207	Colonial	Commemorative	
	4th Telecommunications and information industry Ministerial meeting (TELMIN-4 APEC)					
		Pre-Hispanic Emblem and Globe	2188	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
	50 Anniversary of the National Association of universities and institutions of higher education (ANUIES)					
		Emblem, Books and Keyboard	1135	Independent	Commemorative	
	50 Anniversary of the World Meteorological Organization					
		Clouds and Emblem	2210	Independent	Commemorative	
	50 Anniversary of television in Mexico					
		Television and Set Emblem	2218	Independent	Commemorative	
	500 Years of the discovery of Brazil					
		Indigenous man in canoe and sailing ship	2184		Commemorative	
	75 Anniversary of the Bank of Mexico					
		Building, Note and Plutarco Elias Calles	2201	Independent	Commemorative	

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Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
	Centenary of the General Administration of customs					
		Buildings, Custom House and Bridge	2215	Independent	Commemorative	
	Centenary of the Birth of Luis Buñuel					
		Luis Buñuel	2213	Independent	Commemorative	
	Centenary of the Birth of the Conqueror of the sky Francisco Sarabia					
		Francisco Sarabia	2222	Independent	Commemorative	
	Coexist					
		Pictograms of handicapped people	2197	Independent	Commemorative	
	Teacher's Day: Luis Álvarez Barret					
		Luis Álvarez Barret	2185	Independent	Commemorative	
	International Day against Drug Abuse and Illicit Trafficking					
		Children Holding Hands	2189	Independent	Commemorative	
	International women's day					
		Woman Ascending Stairs	2179	Independent	Commemorative	
	World Post Day					
		Bird Holding Letter	2208	Independent	Commemorative	
	El Tajín					
		Pyramid of the Niches and stone carving, El Tajín	2220	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
	International Diabetes Federation 1950-2000					
		Bird and Globe	2211	Independent	Commemorative	
	INFONAVIT Two Million House					
		Pre-Hispanic House with staircase Model	2190b	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
		Pre-Hispanic House Model	2190a	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	

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Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Pre-Hispanic Natives Model	2190c	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
	The vision of the future					
		Flying Cars and Boy with Dog	2186	Independent	Commemorative	
		Houses and Space Ships	2187	Independent	Commemorative	
	Mexico 20th Century to the Third Millennium, Art					
		Building dome, Artists	2193e	Independent	Commemorative	
		El Sello de la Casa	2193a	Independent	Commemorative	
		Espiritu del Siglo	2193b	Independent	Commemorative	
		La Luz de Mexico	2193c	Independent	Commemorative	
		Los Nuestros en que nos reconocemos	2193d	Independent	Commemorative	
	Mexico 20th Century to the Third Millennium, Communications and Transports					
		Postal Services	2196c	Independent	Commemorative	
		Railroads	2196d	Independent	Commemorative	
		Roads and Bridges	2196b	Independent	Commemorative	
		Satellite	2196e	Independent	Commemorative	
		Telephones and Telegraph	2196a	Independent	Commemorative	
	Mexico 20th Century to the Third Millennium, Industrialization and Commercial Development					
		Automobile	2196d	Independent	Commemorative	
		Globe	2195e	Independent	Commemorative	
		Store	2196c	Independent	Commemorative	
		Tractor	2195a	Independent	Commemorative	
		Truck cab	2195b	Independent	Commemorative	
	Mexico 20th Century to the Third Millennium, The Century of the Democracy					
		Francisco Villa and Emiliano Zapata	2180b	Independent	Commemorative	
		Mexican Presidents from Manuel Ávila to Gustavo Díaz	2180c	Independent	Commemorative	

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Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Mexican Presidents from Porfirio Díaz to Lázaro Cardenas	2180a	Independent	Commemorative	
		National ID Card	2180e	Independent	Commemorative	
		Political Figures, protestors, newspaper boy	2180d	Independent	Commemorative	
	Mexico 20th Century to the Third Millennium, Photography					
		Colchón enrollado	2194a	Independent	Commemorative	
		Four vertical photos	2194c	Independent	Commemorative	
		Roses	2194b	Independent	Commemorative	
		Three photos	2194e	Independent	Commemorative	
		Two vertical photos	2194d	Independent	Commemorative	
	Mexico 20th Century to the Third Millennium, Identity and Cultural Diversity					
		Al hablar como al guisar, su granito de sal	2191d	Independent	Commemorative	
		Children and National Coat of Arms	2191e	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
		Corre y se va	2191b	Independent	Commemorative	
		Tercera llamada...cacaro	2191c	Independent	Commemorative	
		Xóchitl Incuícatl	2191a	Independent	Commemorative	
	Mexico 20th Century to the Third Millennium, Health					
		Children on line	2192b	Independent	Commemorative	
		Modern Medical Equipment	2192e	Independent	Commemorative	
		Nine Men	2192c	Independent	Commemorative	
		Poster showing tractor	2192d	Independent	Commemorative	
		Six Men, Certificate	2192a	Independent	Commemorative	
	México Hannover Fair 2000					
		Creation of Towns	2200e	Independent	Commemorative	
		Emblem	2200k	Independent	Commemorative	

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Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Expo Hanover	2200j	Independent	Commemorative	
		From Pyramid to Plaza	2200d	Independent	Commemorative	
		Future Construction	2200c	Independent	Commemorative	
		Humanity	2200h	Independent	Commemorative	
		Millenarian Construction. Maya Iconography	2200f	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
		National Mosaic	2200b	Independent	Commemorative	
		Nature	2200g	Independent	Commemorative	
		Pre-Hispanic iconography and Mexican Soul	2200a	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
		Technology	2200i	Independent	Commemorative	
	Tourist Mexico					
		The Observatory, Yucatan	2120	Pre-Hispanic	Definitive	
	Christmas Motifs					
		Girl with Piñata	2216	Independent	Commemorative	
		Poinsettias	2217	Independent	Commemorative	
	October: Reproductive health month, Women's Health					
		Women Profiles	2206	Independent	Commemorative	
	Origen and Destiny: Millenaries Messages (Exhibition)					
		Children Using Computer	2181 HR	Independent	Commemorative	
	Paisano					
		Emblem and Family	2204	Independent	Commemorative	
	Postal Palace					
		Adamo Boari	2219a	Independent	Commemorative	
		Gonzalo Garita	2219c	Independent	Commemorative	
		Headquarters Building	2219e	Independent	Commemorative	
		Roofline	2219b	Independent	Commemorative	
	Second Conference international memory of the world UNESCO					


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Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Emblem	2205	Independent	Commemorative	
	United for conservation: El Manatí					
		Manatee	2221	Independent	Commemorative	
	X Anniversary of the National Commission of human rights					
		Emblem	2209	Independent	Commemorative	
	XII Census of Population and Housing, 2000					
		Emblem and Crowd	2178	Independent	Commemorative	
	XVIII International Marathon of Mexico City					
		Runners Crossing Finishing Line	2202	Independent	Commemorative	
	XXV Tianguis, Tourist Mexico Market,					
		Pre-Hispanic Icon	2183	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
	XXVII Olympic Games Sydney 2000					
		Athletes and Sidney Opera House	2203	Independent	Commemorative	
2001						
	It is for children! Prevention is first					
		Boy and Girl	2248	Independent	Commemorative	
	2001, International year of volunteers					
		Emblem	2231	Independent	Commemorative	
	25 Anniversary of the Death of Daniel Cosío Villegas					
		Daniel Cosío Villegas	2236	Independent	Commemorative	
	25 Years of the Institute of Ophthalmology Foundation Conde de Valenciana					
		Eye and People	2242	Independent	Commemorative	
	450 Year of life of the University of Mexico					

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Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		UNAM Principal Building	2234	Independent	Commemorative	
	50 Anniversary of the Law Faculty of the UNAM					
		Emblem, Book and Building	2323	Independent	Commemorative	
	53 Anniversary of the Foundation of the National Chamber of cement					
		Cement Factory	2225	Independent	Commemorative	
	65 Anniversary of the Federal Court of Justice prosecutor and administrative					
		Emblem	2233	Independent	Commemorative	
	Adela Formoso de Obregón Santacilia Precursor of the women's rights in Mexico 1907 - 1981					
		Adela Formoso	2235	Independent	Commemorative	
	Centenary of the Birth of Mario de la Cueva					
		Mario de la Cueva	2230	Independent	Commemorative	
	Teacher's Day: José Vasconcelos					
		José Vasconcelos	2226	Independent	Commemorative	
	International Day against Drug Abuse and Illicit Trafficking					
		Stylized Bird	2229	Independent	Commemorative	
	International women's day					
		Woman	2224	Independent	Commemorative	
	International Grandparents Day					
		Girl and Grandfather	2238	Independent	Commemorative	
	World Food Day					
		Bitten Apple as World	2249	Independent	Commemorative	
	World Post Day					
		Envelope as Bicycle	2240	Independent	Commemorative	
	World Refugee Day					
		People Running in Flames	2227	Independent	Commemorative	
	Dialogue between Civilizations					
		Children encircling Globe	2239	Independent	Commemorative	




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Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
	Mexican Drugstore					
		Past and Present Pharmaceutical Drugs	2237	Independent	Commemorative	
	National Funding of Grants					
		Technicians	2247	Independent	Commemorative	
	Funding for Indigenous Health and Education					
		Nurse and Children	2246	Independent	Commemorative	
	Frida Kahlo					
		Self-Portrait Wearing Jade Necklace	2228	Independent	Commemorative	
	Women's health month					
		Lily	2241	Independent	Commemorative	
	Tourist Mexico					
		Aqueduct, Queretaro	2141c	Colonial	Definitive	
		Aqueduct, Queretaro	2141d	Colonial	Definitive	
		Aqueduct, Queretaro	2135	Colonial	Definitive	
		Coahuila Cathedral, Coahuila	2119	Colonial	Definitive	
		Coahuila Cathedral, Coahuila	2136	Colonial	Definitive	
		Fishes and Sunset, Sinaloa	2138	Independent	Definitive	
		Maguey and Building, Zacatecas	2128	Independent	Definitive	
		Maguey and Building, Zacatecas	2140	Independent	Definitive	
		Monarch Butterflies, Michoacán	2141b	Independent	Definitive	

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Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Monarch Butterflies, Michoacán	2125	Independent	Definitive	
		Monarch Butterflies, Michoacán	2134	Independent	Definitive	
		Palenque, Chiapas	2121	Pre-Hispanic	Definitive	
		Palenque, Chiapas	2141a	Pre-Hispanic	Definitive	
		Palenque, Chiapas	2139	Pre-Hispanic	Definitive	
		Shrimp and Building, Campeche	2141	Independent	Definitive	
		The Observatory, Yucatán	2123	Pre-Hispanic	Definitive	
		Valle de Bravo, State of Mexico	2129	Independent	Definitive	
	Christmas Motifs					
		Candles	2245	Independent	Commemorative	
		Children	2244	Independent	Commemorative	
	Rodolfo Morales 1925-2001					
		Rodolfo Morales	2232	Independent	Commemorative	
	United for Conservation: Chara Pinta					
		Tufted Jay	2243	Independent	Commemorative	
2002						
	150 Years of the Birth of José Guadalupe Posada					
		José Guadalupe Posada	2280	Independent	Commemorative	
	2002 UN Special session of Infancy					
		Striped Cat	2282	Independent	Commemorative	
	25 Anniversary of the resumption of diplomatic relations Mexico-Spain					
		Mexican and Spanish Flags	2298	Independent	Commemorative	
	30 Anniversary of the resumption of diplomatic relations Mexico-China					

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Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Chinese Dragon and Quetzalcóatl Head	2252a	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
		Chinese Dragon and Quetzalcóatl Head	2252	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
	40 Anniversary of the resumption of diplomatic relations Mexico-Korea					
		Mayan Head and Korean Symbol	2277	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
	50 Anniversary of the international airport of Mexico City					
		Charles Lindbergh	2299b	Independent	Commemorative	
		Pre-Hispanic Iconography	2299a	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
		Wright Brothers	2299c	Independent	Commemorative	
	50 Anniversary of the discovery of the tomb of Pakal					
		Pakal Head and Alberto Lhuiller	2283	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
	50 Anniversary of the State of Baja California					
		Mountains, Whale Tail, Sun and cactus	2296	Independent	Commemorative	
	75 Years of development of information technology in Mexico					


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Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Globe, "e" and Binary Codes	2300	Independent	Commemorative	
	International Year of the Mountain					
		Mountain	2287	Independent	Commemorative	
	Centenary of the Modernization of the Artificial Port of Veracruz					
		Stylized Ship	2276	Independent	Commemorative	
	The Pan American Health Organization Centennial					
		Emblem	2302	Independent	Commemorative	
	Mexico City's Advisory Council to the restoration of the historic centre					
		Mexico City Buildings	2278	Colonial	Commemorative	
	Code of ethics of public servants of the Federal public administration					
		Scales and Code	2292	Independent	Commemorative	
	Federal Commission of Electricity Client 20 Million					
		High Tension Power Lines	2289	Independent	Commemorative	
	FIFA World Cup Korea-Japan, 2002					
		Player at Goalmouth	2284	Independent	Commemorative	
	Teacher's Day: Justo Sierra Méndez					
		Justo Sierra Méndez	2281	Independent	Commemorative	
	International Day against Drug Abuse and Illicit Trafficking					
		Pot with Map of America holding people as tree	2285	Independent	Commemorative	
	International Women's Day					
		Emblem	2279	Independent	Commemorative	
	International Day of the World's Indigenous People					
		Boy wearing Huichol costume	2288	Independent	Commemorative	
	World Post Day					
		Birds and Envelopes	2295	Independent	Commemorative	
	World Tourism Day					

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Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Emblem	2293	Independent	Commemorative	
	National Day of the altruistic donor blood					
		Face Enclosed in Blood Droplet	2290	Independent	Commemorative	
	Luis Barragán 100 Years					
		Luis Barragán Studio	2297	Independent	Commemorative	
	Manuel Álvarez Bravo, 100 Years of Light					
		Squash and Snail	2251	Independent	Commemorative	
	Mexico Conserves					
		Aguilas	2262	Independent	Definitive	
		Arrecifes	2264	Independent	Definitive	
		Aves	2259	Independent	Definitive	
		Aves Costeras	2270	Independent	Definitive	
		Bosques	2254	Independent	Definitive	
		Bosques de Niebla	2257	Independent	Definitive	
		Cactáceas	2258	Independent	Definitive	
		Desiertos	2273	Independent	Definitive	
		Felinos	2268	Independent	Definitive	
		Lagos y Lagunas	2274	Independent	Definitive	
		Mamíferos Marinos	2266	Independent	Definitive	
		Mamíferos Terrestres	2256	Independent	Definitive	
		Mamíferos Terrestres	2267	Independent	Definitive	
		Manglares	2253	Independent	Definitive	
		Mares	2271	Independent	Definitive	
		Mariposas	2263	Independent	Definitive	
		Orquídeas	2269	Independent	Definitive	
		Reptiles	2260	Independent	Definitive	
		Ríos	2255	Independent	Definitive	
		Selvas Tropicales	2272	Independent	Definitive	
		Selvas Tropicales	2265	Independent	Definitive	

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Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Tortugas Marinas	2261	Independent	Definitive	
	Christmas Motifs					
		Children with Christmas scene	2305	Independent	Commemorative	
		Christmas	2304	Independent	Commemorative	
	Looking for a Mexico more Honest, No more bribes					
		Apple and map	2291	Independent	Commemorative	
	For A life without violence					
		Emblem	2301	Independent	Commemorative	
	National week of donation and transplant of organs					
		Torso, Electrocardiogram, Diagram and Watch	2294	Independent	Commemorative	
	600 anniversary of the birthday of the King poet Acolmiztli Nezahualcóyotl					
		Nezahualcóyotl	2303	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
	United for conservation. Wild Cimarron Sheep					
		Wild Cimarron Sheep	2250	Independent	Commemorative	
	V Cumbre Mexico-Central America Summit, Puebla-Panama Plan					
		Stylized Map of South America	2286	Independent	Commemorative	

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Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
	XIX Winter Olympics, Salt Lake 2002					
		Emblems	2275	Independent	Commemorative	
2003						
	100 Years of Luz y Fuerza del Centro (electric company supplier)					
		Development and Impact of the Electricity	2339	Independent	Commemorative	
	100 Years of the Birth of Xavier Villaurrutia					
		Xavier Villaurrutia	2319	Independent	Commemorative	
	125 Years of the National Astronomical Observatory					
		Telescope, Planets and Eclipse	2314	Independent	Commemorative	
	150 Years of veterinary education in Mexico and America					
		Early Vet and Modern Veterinary Surgery	2320	Independent	Commemorative	
	25 Anniversary of the Foundation of the National; Pedagogical University					
		University Building	2331	Independent	Commemorative	
	25 Anniversary of CONALEP					
		College Facade and Students	2344	Independent	Commemorative	
	250 Anniversary of the Birth of Don Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla, Father of the Fatherland					
		Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla	2312	Independent	Commemorative	
	450 Anniversary of the first Lecture of law in America					
		Emblem	2338	Colonial	Commemorative	
	50 Anniversary of the women's vote in Mexico					
		Voting Slip and Women	2335	Independent	Commemorative	
	50 Years of the Mexican Chamber of the construction industry					
		Dam and Crane	2310	Independent	Commemorative	
	60 Years of the Ministry of Health					
		Secretariat Building	2336	Independent	Commemorative	

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Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
	60 Years of the Universidad Iberoamericana					
		Emblem	2307	Independent	Commemorative	
	60 Years of the children's Hospital of Mexico Federico Gómez					
		Pre-Hispanic Iconography and Children	2311	Pre-Hispanic	Commemorative	
	International Day of Freshwater					
		Globe as Heart and Leaves	2343	Independent	Commemorative	
	Centenary of the City of Mexicali					
		City Arms and Building	2309	Independent	Commemorative	
	Centenary of the Juarez theatre (en Guanajuato, Guanajuato)					
		Juárez Theatre	2337	Independent	Commemorative	
	World Centenary of the Aviation					
		Early Bi-plane	2306	Independent	Commemorative	
	Teacher's Day: Gregorio Torres Quintero					
		Gregorio Torres Quintero	2313	Independent	Commemorative	
	International Day against Drug Abuse and Illicit Trafficking					
		Hands enclosing globe	2317	Independent	Commemorative	
	International Women's Day					
		Woman	2308	Independent	Commemorative	
	World Post Day					
		Bird Carrying Envelope	2334	Independent	Commemorative	
	World No Tobacco Day					
		Film, Cigarette and Stop Sign	2315	Independent	Commemorative	
	The rights of girls and boys					
		Laughing Child	2342	Independent	Commemorative	
	Mexico Conserves					
		Aguilas	2262a	Independent	Definitive	
		Arrecifes	2264a	Independent	Definitive	

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Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Aves	2259a	Independent	Definitive	
		Aves Costeras	2270a	Independent	Definitive	
		Bosques	2254a	Independent	Definitive	
		Felinos	2268a	Independent	Definitive	
		Land Mammals	2323	Independent	Definitive	
		Mamíferos Marinos	2266a	Independent	Definitive	
		Mamíferos Terrestres	2267a	Independent	Definitive	
		Mangrove Stamps	2253a	Independent	Definitive	
		Mares	2271a	Independent	Definitive	
		Mariposas	2263a	Independent	Definitive	
		Orquídeas	2269a	Independent	Definitive	
		Rain Forests	2324	Independent	Definitive	
		Reptiles	2260a	Independent	Definitive	
		Ríos	2255a	Independent	Definitive	
		Selvas Tropicales	2265a	Independent	Definitive	
		Tortugas Marinas	2261a	Independent	Definitive	
	Christmas Motifs					
		Christmas	2340	Independent	Commemorative	
		Christmas	2341	Independent	Commemorative	
	Museum Federico Silva Contemporary Sculpture					
		Federico Silva Museum	2332	Independent	Commemorative	
	First satellite network for connectivity					
		Map	2316	Independent	Commemorative	
	Hall of the fame of the Mexico professional baseball					
		Baseball and bat	2318	Independent	Commemorative	
	National week of donation and transplantation of organs					
		Family	2333	Independent	Commemorative	
2004						
	100 Years of FIFA					

Appendix IV. List of Stamps

Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Boys and Centenary Emblem	2353	Independent	Commemorative	
	100 Years of the Mexican Geological Society					
		Quartz and Society Emblem	2349	Independent	Commemorative	
	125 Years of the entry of Mexico to the Universal Postal Union					
		Envelope and Seal	2382	Independent	Commemorative	
	150 Anniversary of the Mexican national anthem					
		Francisco González Bocanegra and Jaime Nuno	2380	Independent	Commemorative	
	180 Anniversary of Superior Federation Audit					
		Superior Federation Audit, 180th Anniversary	2384	Independent	Commemorative	
	25 Anniversary of the first visit of Pope John Paul II to Mexico					
		John Paul II	2345	Independent	Commemorative	
	400 Anniversary of the Municipality of General Escobedo, N.L.					
		General Escobedo Statue	2389	Colonial	Commemorative	
	45 Anniversary of the National Commission of free text books					
		Miguel Hidalgo, Benito Juárez and Francisco I. Madero	2390	Independent	Commemorative	
	450 Anniversary of Fresnillo, Zacatecas					
		Mountain and Town	2357	Colonial	Commemorative	
	50 Anniversary of the television by cable Mexico					
		Satellite, Cable and Globe	2348	Independent	Commemorative	
	50 Anniversary of the National Centre of S.C.T.					
		Building Facade	2787	Independent	Commemorative	
	50 Years of the Autonomous University of Chihuahua					
		University Building	2360	Independent	Commemorative	
	75 Anniversary of the headquarters of the Ministry of Health					

Appendix IV. List of Stamps

Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Health and Life	2385	Independent	Commemorative	
	75 Years of autonomy of the UNAM					
		Emblem	2359	Independent	Commemorative	
	Agustín Yáñez, Years of His Birth					
		Agustín Yáñez	2346	Independent	Commemorative	
	Canal Once (45 Years) Broadcasting					
		Cameraman and Images	2383	Independent	Commemorative	
	Celestino Gorostiza, 100 Years of His Birth					
		Celestino Gorostiza	2356	Independent	Commemorative	
	Teacher's Day: Enrique Águilar González					
		Enrique Águilar González	2347	Independent	Commemorative	
	International Day against Drug Abuse and Illicit Trafficking					
		Stylised Figures	2350	Independent	Commemorative	
	World Post Day					
		Dove Holding Envelope and Post Box	2381	Independent	Commemorative	
	Fondo de Cultura Económica (70 Years)					
		Building	2358	Independent	Commemorative	
	Gilberto Owen, 100 Years of His Birth					
		Gilberto Owen	2352	Independent	Commemorative	
	Institute for security and social services of the workers of the State ISSSTE					
		Fund Workers	2378	Independent	Commemorative	
	Games of the XXVIII Olympiad in Athens 2004					
		Athena, Columns and Swimmer	2355	Independent	Commemorative	
	The cartoon in Mexico. The Burrón Family					
		Borola Tacuche	2354	Independent	Commemorative	
	The Culture on the Radio					
		Boy Listening Radio	2386	Independent	Commemorative	

Appendix IV. List of Stamps

Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
	Mexico Conserves					
		Birds	2369	Independent	Definitive	
		Birds	2416	Independent	Definitive	
		Birds	2397	Independent	Definitive	
		Butterflies	2409	Independent	Definitive	
		Butterflies	2436	Independent	Definitive	
		Cacti	2372	Independent	Definitive	
		Cacti	2328	Independent	Definitive	
		Cats	2362	Independent	Definitive	
		Cats	2363	Independent	Definitive	
		Cats	2402	Independent	Definitive	
		Cats	2424	Independent	Definitive	
		Cats	2400	Independent	Definitive	
		Coastal birds	2434	Independent	Definitive	
		Coastal Birds	2325	Independent	Definitive	
		Coastal birds	2377	Independent	Definitive	
		Coastal birds	2420	Independent	Definitive	
		Deserts	2404	Independent	Definitive	
		Deserts	2394	Independent	Definitive	
		Deserts	2375a	Independent	Definitive	
		Deserts	2375	Independent	Definitive	
		Deserts	2371	Independent	Definitive	
		Eagles	2405	Independent	Definitive	
		Eagles	2412	Independent	Definitive	
		Forests	2367	Independent	Definitive	
		Forests	2418	Independent	Definitive	
		Forests	2427	Independent	Definitive	
		Lakes and Lagoons	2407	Independent	Definitive	
		Lakes and Lagoons	2329	Independent	Definitive	

Appendix IV. List of Stamps

Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Lakes and Lagoons	2415	Independent	Definitive	
		Land Mammals	2428	Independent	Definitive	
		Land Mammals	2370	Independent	Definitive	
		Land Mammals	2426	Independent	Definitive	
		Mangrove swamps	2432	Independent	Definitive	
		Marine mammals	2433	Independent	Definitive	
		Marine mammals	2421	Independent	Definitive	
		Marine mammals	2398	Independent	Definitive	
		Marine mammals	2401	Independent	Definitive	
		Oceans	2321	Independent	Definitive	
		Oceans	2364	Independent	Definitive	
		Oceans	2399	Independent	Definitive	
		Oceans	2425	Independent	Definitive	
		Orchids	2406	Independent	Definitive	
		Orchids	2408	Independent	Definitive	
		Orchids	2395	Independent	Definitive	
		Orchids	2411	Independent	Definitive	
		Orchids	2326	Independent	Definitive	
		Rain Forests	2430	Independent	Definitive	
		Rain Forests	2403	Independent	Definitive	
		Reefs	2374	Independent	Definitive	
		Reefs	2429	Independent	Definitive	
		Reefs	2365	Independent	Definitive	
		Reefs	2366	Independent	Definitive	
		Reefs	2417	Independent	Definitive	
		Reptiles	2376	Independent	Definitive	
		Reptiles	2368	Independent	Definitive	
		Reptiles	2422	Independent	Definitive	
		Reptiles	2322	Independent	Definitive	

Appendix IV. List of Stamps

Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Rivers	2431	Independent	Definitive	
		Rivers	2414	Independent	Definitive	
		Rivers	2327	Independent	Definitive	
		Sea Turtles	2330	Independent	Definitive	
		Sea Turtles	2410	Independent	Definitive	
		Sea Turtles	2396	Independent	Definitive	
		Sea Turtles	2435	Independent	Definitive	
		Sea Turtles	2419	Independent	Definitive	
		Tropical Forests	2373	Independent	Definitive	
		Tropical Forests	2413	Independent	Definitive	
		Tropical Forests	2423	Independent	Definitive	
	Christmas Motifs					
		Couple of boys watching Sky	2391	Independent	Commemorative	
		Piñata and candles	2392	Independent	Commemorative	
	Palace of Fine Arts (70 Years)					
		Palace of Fine Arts	2361	Independent	Commemorative	
	Prevention of Transit Accident					
		Car, Seatbelt and roadway	2393	Independent	Commemorative	
	Salvador Novo, 100 Years of His Birth					
		Salvador Novo	2351	Independent	Commemorative	
	Third centenary of the termination of the walled enclosure of the city of Campeche					
		City Symbols and Plaque	2379	Colonial	Commemorative	
2005						
	100 Years of Organised Philately in Jalisco					
		Foundation Jesus Alvarez	2483	Independent	Commemorative	
	100 Years of the Jewish presence in Mexico					
		Cactus	2507	Independent	Commemorative	
	100 Years of Lasallista presence in Mexico					
		San Juan Bautista De La Salle	2506	Independent	Commemorative	

Appendix IV. List of Stamps

Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
	100 Years of the society of Mexican architects					
		Building Facade	2446	Independent	Commemorative	
	125 years of Lebanese presence in Mexico					
		Statue and Cedar of Lebanon Tree	2484	Independent	Commemorative	
	150 Anniversary of the Superior Court of Justice of the Federal District					
		Building from 1964	2480c	Independent	Commemorative	
		Building from 2005	2480b	Independent	Commemorative	
		Building from 1855	2480a	Independent	Commemorative	
	175 Anniversary of the Birth of Ignacio Vallarta					
		Ignacio L. Vallarta	2475	Independent	Commemorative	
	2005 A World Without Poliomyelitis					
		Globe, Child and Vaccine Droplets	2441	Independent	Commemorative	
	400 Anniversary of the first edition of the ingenious Hidalgo Don Quixote of La Mancha					
		Crowd, Horse and Rider	2443b		Commemorative	
		Don Quixote	2443c		Commemorative	
	400 Anniversary of the first edition of the ingenious Hidalgo Don Quixote of La Mancha					
		Silhouette of Don Quixote	2443a		Commemorative	
	50 Years of Pedro Páramo					
		Face and writing	2439	Independent	Commemorative	
	World Year of Physics					
		Albert Einstein	2444	Independent	Commemorative	
	Centenary of the Foundation of Gómez Palacio					
		Aqueduct, Man on horse and Factory Soap	2487	Independent	Commemorative	
	Centenary of the General Hospital of Mexico					
		Building Facade	2437	Independent	Commemorative	

Appendix IV. List of Stamps

Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
	National Commission on Human Rights					
		Flower of Hands and Emblem	2445	Independent	Commemorative	
	Federal Justice Council					
		Federal Justice Council	2476	Independent	Commemorative	
		Supreme Court	2477	Independent	Commemorative	
		Supreme Justice Tribunal	2478	Independent	Commemorative	
	Teacher's Day					
		Eulalia Guzmán	2442	Independent	Commemorative	
	International Day against Drug Abuse and Illicit Trafficking					
		Child and hands	2447	Independent	Commemorative	
	International Women's Day					
		Faces in Puzzle	2438	Independent	Commemorative	
	World Post Day					
		Globe and International Buildings	2481	Independent	Commemorative	
	Baseball in Mexico					
		Players	2448	Independent	Commemorative	
	Expo 2005 Aichi, Japan					
		Plants, Animals and Buildings	2479	Independent	Commemorative	
	National Tribute to Juan O'Gorman					
		Multiple Self-Portrait	2451	Independent	Commemorative	
	National Tribute to Rodolfo Usigli					
		Rodolfo Usigli	2485	Independent	Commemorative	
	The cartoon in Mexico. Memín Pinguin					
		Memín Pinguin	2450a	Independent	Commemorative	
		Memín Pinguin Holding Flower	2450b	Independent	Commemorative	
		Memín Pinguin Holding Open Comic Book	2450c	Independent	Commemorative	
		Memín Pinguin Wearing evening clothes	2450d	Independent	Commemorative	

Appendix IV. List of Stamps

Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Memín Penguin With Mother	2450e	Independent	Commemorative	
	Mexico Conserves					
		Birds	2467	Independent	Definitive	
		Butterflies	2452	Independent	Definitive	
		Cacti	2468	Independent	Definitive	
		Cats	2469	Independent	Definitive	
		Cats	2461	Independent	Definitive	
		Coastal Birds	2454	Independent	Definitive	
		Eagles	2471	Independent	Definitive	
		Lakes and Lagoons	2460	Independent	Definitive	
		Mangrove swamps	2465	Independent	Definitive	
		Marine Mammals	2456	Independent	Definitive	
		Marine Mammals	2463	Independent	Definitive	
		Oceans	2466	Independent	Definitive	
		Oceans	2458	Independent	Definitive	
		Oceans	2462	Independent	Definitive	
		Reefs	2470	Independent	Definitive	
		Reptiles	2464	Independent	Definitive	
		Rivers	2457	Independent	Definitive	
		Rivers	2459	Independent	Definitive	
		Sea Turtles	2453	Independent	Definitive	
		Sea Turtles	2473	Independent	Definitive	
		Tropical forests	2472	Independent	Definitive	
	Mexico Popular Creation					
		Amber marimba	2504	Independent	Definitive	
		Black Clay jug	2491	Independent	Definitive	
		Copper jar	2500	Independent	Definitive	
		Doll	2499	Independent	Definitive	
		Embroidered tablecloth	2501	Independent	Definitive	

Appendix IV. List of Stamps

Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Glazed basin	2495	Independent	Definitive	
		Horn comb	2490	Independent	Definitive	
		Lacquered wooden chest	2489	Independent	Definitive	
		Legged earthen pot	2488	Independent	Definitive	
		Model	2494	Independent	Definitive	
		Obsidian and opal turtle	2505	Independent	Definitive	
		paper bull	2492	Independent	Definitive	
		Seri Woven basket	2502	Independent	Definitive	
		Silk shawl	2493	Independent	Definitive	
		Silver pear	2503	Independent	Definitive	
		Tin rooster	2498	Independent	Definitive	
		Vase	2496	Independent	Definitive	
		Wooden mask	2497	Independent	Definitive	
	Mexico in the UN					
		Mexican Flag and UN Emblem	2482	Independent	Commemorative	
	Mexican Minerals					
		Actinolite with talc	2474y	Independent	Commemorative	
		Argentite	2474b	Independent	Commemorative	
		Allende meteorite	2474d	Independent	Commemorative	
		Amethyst quartz	2474t	Independent	Commemorative	
		Apatite	2474w	Independent	Commemorative	
		Asbestos	2474n	Independent	Commemorative	
		Azurite	2474u	Independent	Commemorative	
		Barite	2474j	Independent	Commemorative	
		Beryl	2474q	Independent	Commemorative	
		Calcite	2474m	Independent	Commemorative	
		Fluorite	2474s	Independent	Commemorative	
		Galena	2474f	Independent	Commemorative	
		Gold	2474e	Independent	Commemorative	

Appendix IV. List of Stamps

Date	Title of Emission	Main Motif	SCOTT	Period	Type	Image
		Gypsum	2474h	Independent	Commemorative	
		Hemimorphite	2474v	Independent	Commemorative	
		Livingstoneite	2474p	Independent	Commemorative	
		Manganocalcite	2474i	Independent	Commemorative	
		Marcasite, quartz and galena	2474c	Independent	Commemorative	
		Pyrrargyrite	2474g	Independent	Commemorative	
		Pyromorphite	2474x	Independent	Commemorative	
		Red Calcite	2474l	Independent	Commemorative	
		Silver	2474a	Independent	Commemorative	
		Smithsonite	2474r	Independent	Commemorative	
		Stephanite	2474k	Independent	Commemorative	
		Valencianite	2474o	Independent	Commemorative	
	Christmas Motifs					
		Christmas and Piñata	2509	Independent	Commemorative	
		Piñata	2510	Independent	Commemorative	
	San Juan de Ulúa. Last Spaniard Fortress					
		Ship, Battle and Building	2486	Independent	Commemorative	
	Transparency and access to information					
		Eye and Emblem	2449	Independent	Commemorative	
	Nationals Student Games					
		Athletes	2440	Independent	Commemorative	
	Value Our Indigenous and Popular Culture					
		Handcrafts	2508	Independent	Commemorative	

Appendix V

List of Sites open to the Public

Appendix V. Sites Open For Public Visit Managed by INAH

Site's Name	Culture	Epoch	County	INAH's Fee	Site Museum	Light Show	Virtual Tour	CEDOC 1968	WHS	SP 1992-1994
Chichén Itzá	Maya/Tolteca	AD 400 -1200	Yucatan	AAA	•	•	•	•	•	•
Uxmal	Maya	AD 200-1200	Yucatan	AAA	•	•		•	•	
El Tajín	Totonac	AD 300-1100	Veracruz	AAA	•	• (sporadic)		•	•	
Monte Alban	Olmec/Zapotec/Mixtec	BC 500- AD 600	Oaxaca	AAA	•			•	•	•
Palenque	Maya	AD 300-900	Chiapas	AAA	•	Proposal in evaluation	•	•	•	•
Templo Mayor	Mexica	AD 1325-1521	Mexico City	AAA	•		•	•		
Teotihuacan	Teotihuacan	BC 200- AD 650	State of Mexico	AAA	•	Proposal in evaluation	•	•	•	•
Tulum	Maya	AD 1200-1521	Quintana Roo	AAA		•		•		
Xochicalco	Xochicalco	AD 700-900	Morelos	AAA	•	•	•	•	•	•
Coba	Maya	AD 200-1200	Quintana Roo	AAA						
Dzibilchaltun	Maya	BC 400- AD 1200	Yucatan	AA	•			•		
Paquime	Paquime	AD 650-1521	Chihuahua	AA	•			•	•	•
Yaxchilan	Maya	AD 250-900	Chiapas	AA			•	•		
Kohunlich	Maya	AD 200-900	Quintana Roo	AA						
Tamtoc	Huasteca	BC 400- AD 1521	San Luis Potosi	AA						
Cacaxtla	Olmec/Xicalanca	AD 650-850	Tlaxcala	AA	•					
Xochitecatl	Various	BC 300-AD 900	Tlaxcala	AA	•					•
Becán	Maya	1500ane - 1200ne	Campeche	A						
Calakmul	Maya	200 - 1521ne	Campeche	A					•	•
Bonampak	Maya	AD 250-800	Chiapas	A				•		
Cantona	Olmec/Xicalanca	BC 200- AD 1000	Puebla	A						•
Cholula	Cholulteca	AD 100-900	Puebla	A	•			•		
Comalcalco	Maya	AD 200-1200	Tabasco	A	•		•	•		
Edzna	Maya	AD 5th-11th C.	Campeche	A		•		•		
La Quemada	Chalchihuites	AD 300-1200	Zacatecas	A	•			•		

Appendix V. Sites Open For Public Visit Managed by INAH

Site's Name	Culture	Epoch	County	INAH's Fee	Site Museum	Light Show	Virtual Tour	CEDOC 1968	WHS	SP 1992-1994
San Gervasio	Maya	AD 300-1521	Quintana Roo	A						
Malinalco	Mexica	AD 650-1521	State of Mexico	A			•	•		
Dzibanché-Kínichná	Maya	AD 300-1200	Quintana Roo	A						•
Chacchoben	Maya	BC 200- AD 1000	Quintana Roo	A						
Tonina	Maya	AD 200-900	Chiapas	A	•			•		•
Tula	Toltec	AD 650-1521	Hidalgo	A	•			•		
Tzintzuntzan	Tarascan	AD 1450-1521	Michoacan	A	•			•		
Vega de la Peña (Filobobos)	Totonac	AD 900-1500	Veracruz	A						•
Cuajilote	Totonac	AD 200-800	Veracruz	A						
La Música	No Info	Paleoindian	Baja California Sur	B						
Cuesta de Palmario	No Info	Paleoindian	Baja California Sur	B						
La Pintada	No Info	Paleoindian	Baja California Sur	B						
Las Flechas	No Info	Paleoindian	Baja California Sur	B						
Boca de San Julio	No Info	Paleoindian	Baja California Sur	B						
La Soledad	No Info	Paleoindian	Baja California Sur	B						
Chicanna	Maya	200 - 1200ne	Campeche	B						
La Campana	No Info	BC 1500- AD1500	Colima	B						
Tingambato	Tarascan	AD 200-900	Michoacan	B						
San Felipe Los Alzati	Tarascan	AD 1200-1521	Michoacan	B						
Oxtankah	Maya	AD 200-1521	Quintana Roo	B						
El Rey	Maya	AD 200-1550	Quintana Roo	B						
Xcaret	Maya	AD 200-1550	Quintana Roo	B		•				

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Site's Name	Culture	Epoch	County	INAH's Fee	Site Museum	Light Show	Virtual Tour	CEDOC 1968	WHS	SP 1992-1994
Calixtlahuaca	No Info	Pre-Hispanic	State of Mexico	B				•		
Cempoala	Totonac	AD 1200-1521	Veracruz	B	•			•		
Chacmultun	Maya	BC 300- AD 1000	Yucatan	B				•		
Chalcatzingo	Olmec	BC 1500-200	Morelos	B				•		
Chinkultic	Maya	AD 600-1200	Chiapas	B				•		
El Meco	Maya	AD 200-1100	Quintana Roo	B				•		
Kabah	Maya	AD 250-900	Yucatan	B				•		
Tenayuca II	No Info	AD 1200-1521	State of Mexico	B						
La Venta	Olmec	BC 1200-400	Tabasco	B	•			•		
Labna	Maya	AD 600-900	Yucatan	B				•		
Mitla	Zapotec	AD 900-1521	Oaxaca	B				•	•	
Oxkintok	Maya	BC 300- AD 1521	Yucatan	B				•		
Santa Cecilia Acatitlan	Mexica	AD 1200-1521	State of Mexico	B	•			•		
Sayil	Maya	AD 800-900	Yucatan	B				•		
Tenayuca	Chichimeca/Mexica	AD 1200-1521	State of Mexico	B	•			•		
Teopanzolco	Tlahuica/Mexica	AD 650-1521	Morelos	B				•		
Tepozteco	Xochimilco/Mexica	AD 1200-1521	Morelos	B				•		
Xel Ha	Maya	AD 100-1521	Quintana Roo	B				•		
Xpuhil	Maya	BC 400 - AD 1200	Campeche	B				•		
Yagul	Zapotec	AD 750-1500	Oaxaca	B				•		
Loltun	Arcaic/Maya	BC 9000- AD1542	Yucatan	B						
El Ratón	Hunter-Gatherers	Paleoindian	Baja California Sur	B					•	•
Balamkanche	Maya	AD 200-1000	Yucatan	B	•					
Ake	Maya	AD 800-1000	Yucatan	B						
El Vallecito	Diegueño Representacional	BC 8000 -1500	Baja California	C	•					

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Site's Name	Culture	Epoch	County	INAH's Fee	Site Museum	Light Show	Virtual Tour	CEDOC 1968	WHS	SP 1992-1994
Balamkú	Maya	300 ac - 1000 dc	Campeche	C						
El Tigre (itzamkanac)	Maya	BC 600 - AD 1550	Campeche	C						
Tenam Puente	Maya	AD 300-1200	Chiapas	C						
El Chanal	No Info	BC 1500- AD 1521	Colima	C		Unsuccesful Request				
Plazuelas	No Info	AD 600-900	Guanajuato	C						
Cañada de la Virgen	Tolteca/Chichimeca	AD 540-1050	Guanajuato	C						
El Coporo	No Info	AD 500-900	Guanajuato	C						
Tres Cerritos	Tarascan	AD 900-1200	Michoacan	C						
Huandacareo	Tarascan	AD 1300	Michoacan	C						
Las Pilas	No Info	BC 700-500	Morelos	C						
Coatetelco	Tlahuica/Mexica	BC 500-200/ AD 1521	Morelos	C	•					
Dainzú	Zapotec	BC 400- AD 100	Oaxaca	C						
Lambityeco	Zapotec	AD 600-750	Oaxaca	C						
Huamelulpan	Mixtec	BC 400- AD 600	Oaxaca	C						
Muyil	Maya	BC 300- AD 1100	Quintana Roo	C						
Malpasito	Maya/Zoque	AD 700-900	Tabasco	C						
Las Higueras	Totonac?	AD 650-1100	Veracruz	C	•					
Acanceh	Maya	AD 200-900	Yucatan	C				•		
Altavista-Chalchihuites	Chalchihuites	AD 450-900	Zacatecas	C	•		•	•		
Hochob	Maya	AD 650 - 1200	Campeche	C				•		
Ihuatzio	Tarascan	AD 1200-1600	Michoacan	C				•		
Mayapan	Maya	AD 1200-1450	Yucatan	C						
Quiahuitlan	Totonac	AD 800-1521	Veracruz	C				•		
EkBalam	Maya	BC 200- AD 1521	Yucatan	C						

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Site's Name	Culture	Epoch	County	INAH's Fee	Site Museum	Light Show	Virtual Tour	CEDOC 1968	WHS	SP 1992-1994
Ranas	Serrana	AD 500 -1000	Queretaro	C				•		
Santa Rosa Xtampak	Maya	BC 300 - AD 1000	Campeche	C				•		
Tizatlan	Mixtec/Puebla	AD 1200-1521	Tlaxcala	C	•			•		
Tlapacoya	Olmec/Preclassic	BC 1500-200	State of Mexico	C				•		
Toluquilla	Serrana	AD 400-1200	Queretaro	C				•		
Tres Zapotes	Olmec	BC 1500- AD 200	Veracruz	C				•		
Yohualinchan	Totonac	AD 200-1521	Puebla	C				•		
Zaachila	Zapotec/Mixtec	AD 1200 -1521	Oaxaca	C				•		
Cuicuilco	Arcaica	BC 1500-200	Mexico City	Free	•			•		
Chunhuhub	Maya	Pre-Hispanic	Campeche	Free						
Dzibilnocac	Maya	Pre-Hispanic	Campeche	Free						
El Castillo de Teayo	Huasteca-Mexica	AD 1000-1521	Veracruz	Free				•		
El Xihuingo-Tepeapulco	Teotihuacan	AD 200-500	Hidalgo	Free	•			•		
Hormiguero	Maya	200 - 1200ne	Campeche	Free						
Kanki	Maya	BC 50- AD 600	Campeche	Free						
Nadzca'an	Maya	Pre-Hispanic	Campeche	Free						
Guiengola	Zapotec	AD 1350-1521	Oaxaca	Free				•		
Tabasqueño	Maya	AD 750- 1250	Campeche	Free						
Tohcok	Maya	Pre-Hispanic	Campeche	Free						
Chiapa de Corzo	No Info	BC 1400-850	Chiapas	Free						
Huapalcalco	Golfo/Teotihuacan	Pre-Hispanic	Hidalgo	Free				•		
Huexotla	No Info	AD 1200 Circa	State of Mexico	Free				•		
Izamal	Maya	BC 300- AD 1521	Yucatan	Free				•		
Las Flores	Huasteca	AD 1000-1200	Tamaulipas	Free				•		
Los Melones	Coyotlatelco/Tollan/Azteca	AD 600-1521	State of Mexico	Free				•		

Appendix V. Sites Open For Public Visit Managed by INAH

Site's Name	Culture	Epoch	County	INAH's Fee	Site Museum	Light Show	Virtual Tour	CEDOC 1968	WHS	SP 1992-1994
Ixtlán del Río (Los Toriles)	No Info	AD 650-1200	Nayarit	Free				•		
Cueva de la Olla	Paquime	AD 950-1060	Chihuahua	Free						
Cueva Grande	Paquime	AD 1060-1205	Chihuahua	Free						
Las Cuarenta Casas	Paquime	AD 950-1060.	Chihuahua	Free						
Conjunto Huápoca	Paquime	N/D	Chihuahua	Free						
La Ferreria	Chalchihuites	AD 800-1450	Durango	Free						
Palma Sola	No Info	BC 800-750	Guerrero	Free						
La Sabana	No Info	Pre-Hispanic	Guerrero	Free						
Teopantecuanitlán	Olmec	BC 1250-200	Guerrero	Free						
Tehuacalco	Yope	AD 650-1100	Guerrero	Free						
Huamuxtitlán	No Info	Pre-Hispanic	Guerrero	Free						
Cuetlajuchitlán (Los Querendes)	Mezcala	BC 800- AD 300	Guerrero	Free						
Ixcateopan	Cohuixcas/Chontales/Mexica	AD 1350-1521	Guerrero	Free						
Los Tepoltzis	No Info	AD 750-1200	Guerrero	Free						
La Organera Xochipala	Mezcala	BC 1200- AD 900	Guerrero	Free						
Iztepete	No Info	AD 650-750	Jalisco	Free				•		
Rosario Izapa	Olmec/Izapa	BC 1500- 500 c	Chiapas	Free				•		
Tamohi	Huasteca	AD 1200-1521	San Luis Potosi	Free				•		
Teuchitlán (Guachimontones)	Teuchitlan	AD 200-400	Jalisco	Free						
El Grillo	No Info	AD 500 circa	Jalisco	Free						
Tepexi, El Viejo	Popolca	AD 1200-1500	Puebla	Free				•		
Cerro de la Estrella	Mexica	BC 1000- AD 1521	Mexico City	Free	•					

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Site's Name	Culture	Epoch	County	INAH's Fee	Site Museum	Light Show	Virtual Tour	CEDOC 1968	WHS	SP 1992-1994
Tlatelolco	Mexica	AD 1200-1521	Mexico City	Free	•		•	•		
Olintepc	No Info	BC 1500- AD1500	Morelos	Free						
Yautepec	Teotihuaca/Toltec/Tlahuica/Mexica	AD 150-1521	Morelos	Free						
Boca de Potrerillos		BC 6960- AD 1760	Nuevo Leon	Free						
Cerro de las Minas	Mixtec	AD 300- 800	Oaxaca	Free						
Huijazoo	Zapotec/Mixtec	AD 750	Oaxaca	Free						
San Cristóbal Tepatlaxco	No Info	BC 300- AD 100	Puebla	Free						
Tepapayeca	No Info	AD 1000 circa	Puebla	Free						
El Cerrito	Chupicuaro/Teotihuacan/Toltec	BC 200- AD 1521	Queretaro	Free						
Caracol-Punta Sur	Maya	AD 1200-1500	Quintana Roo	Free						
Chakanbakan	Maya	Pre-Hispanic	Quintana Roo	Free						
Playa del Carmen	Maya	BC 100- AD 1550	Quintana Roo	Free						
Tepexpan	No Info	Pre-Hispanic	State of Mexico	Free						
Texcutzingo	Mexica	AD 1450 circa	State of Mexico	Free						
Acozac	Mexica	AD 900-1430	State of Mexico	Free						
Chimalhuacan	Mexica	AD 1200-1521	State of Mexico	Free	•					
Los Re•	Mexica	AD 1430-1521	State of Mexico	Free						
El Conde	Mexica	AD 1300-1521	State of Mexico	Free						
Los Pochotes	No Info	No Info	State of Mexico	Free						
Ocoyoacac	Teotihuacan	AD 250-450	State of Mexico	Free						
San Miguel Ixtapan	Teotihuacan/Epicalasica/Mexica	AD 500-1521	State of Mexico	Free	•					
Moral-Reforma	Maya	AD 622-756	Tabasco	Free						
Pomoná	Maya	AD 600-900	Tabasco	Free	•					
El Sabinito	Serrana	AD 1-900	Tamaulipas	Free						

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Balcón de Montezuma	Huasteca, Serrana, USA	AD 400-1200	Tamaulipas	Free						
Sultepec (Tecoaque)	Acolhua	AD 450-1521	Tlaxcala	Free						
Ocotulco	Tlaxcalteca	AD 1000-1521	Tlaxcala	Free	•					
Coyuxquihui	Totonac	AD 1250-1519	Veracruz	Free						
San Lorenzo Tenochtitlan	Olmec	BC 1500-900	Veracruz	Free						
Xlapak	Maya	AD 200-900	Yucatan	Free						
Las Ventanas		BC 100- AD 1521	Zacatecas	Free						
Xcalumkin	Maya	Pre-Hispanic	Campeche	Free						
Lagartero	Maya	No Info	Chiapas	Free						
Tocuila	No Info	No Info	State of Mexico	Free						
Tancama	No Info	No Info	Queretaro	Free						
Huamango	Otomi	AD 900-1300	State of Mexico	INAH Free/ State Fee						
Teotenango	Matlazinca	AD 1250-1521	State of Mexico	INAH Free/ State Fee	•					